



H. Gravelot delin. et sculp.

*MARIUS setting on the Ruins of
CARTHAGE.*

Published February 5th 1745. by T. & P. Kinaston.

THE
ROMAN HISTORY

FROM THE
FOUNDATION OF ROME

TO THE
BATTLE OF ACTIUM:

THAT IS,
To the End of the COMMONWEALTH.

VOL. X.

By Mr CREVIER, *Professor of Rhetorick in
the College of Beauvais, being the Continuation of
Mr ROLLIN's Work.*

Translated from the FRENCH.

THE SECOND EDITION.

Illustrated with Maps, and Copper Plates.

LONDON:

Printed for J. and P. KNAPTON, in Ludgate-Street.

MDCCCLIV.

ADVERTISEMENT.

I Thought, that it was perhaps without much reflection a certain Writer of reputation in several kinds of literature had advanced, as I have observed in the Advertisement to the ninth Volume, that the serious study of History ought not to be begun till towards the end of the fifteenth century. I was deceived; it was not an opinion, that had escaped him inconsiderately; it seems it is a System, a Thesis, that he maintains with argumentation and proofs.

*To treat Ancient History, says he, * is in * Consider-
my opinion, to compile some truths with a thousand lies. That History is perhaps use-
ful as Fable is so.—The exploits of Alex-
ander are to be known only as we know the
Labours of Hercules.*

*ations upon
History
annexed to
the Me-
taphran-
cise,
p. 115.*

ADVERTISEMENT.

I admit that a critical discernment is necessary in the Study of Ancient History, and that we ought not blindly to adopt all that we find laid down in books. But there are rules for distinguishing the true from the false, and if it be weakness to believe, it is rashness to reject every thing.

I proceed, for instance, to a principle equally simple and luminous, which ought to reconcile the illustrious Author, whom I take the liberty to refute, at least to a part of the Facts of Ancient History. It is not the remoteness of time, that occasions uncertainty in respect to those facts; it is the want of Contemporary Writers. If events had been delivered down to Posterity by persons of sense, who had either been witnesses, or actors, in them, or who had means of being exactly informed in them, we should then, in reading their works, become ourselves in some measure Contemporary with those facts: and I really believe, we can no more doubt what Polybius has left us concerning the war of Hannibal, than what Cæsar has wrote in his History. Admitting this, wherefore should we
banish

ADVERTISEMENT.

banish the History of Alexander into the region of Fables, and place it on a level with the labours of Hercules? Not to mention a thousand other proofs, that History had been wrote by Ptolemy son of Lagus, and by Aristobulus, both companions of that famous conqueror in all his expeditions; and Arrian, whose Work we have, has followed the Memoirs of those two contemporary Writers. In consequence the History of Alexander admits no doubt, and the most excessive Pyrrhonism itself cannot call its certainty in question.

As much may be said in respect to the History of Greece by the Persians written by Herodotus; to that of the Peloponnesian War by Thucydides, and the continuation of it by Xenophon. The same principle applied to the Roman History supports us entirely in regard to the facts related by Cæsar, Sallust, Tacitus, Suetonius; and in going back a little farther, by Polybius, a writer of no great elegance, but infinitely judicious, and one, whose authority has always been extremely revered. I cite this small number of Authors and facts by way of examples; not that I pretend to call in

ADVERTISEMENT.

question the certainty of the Roman History before the time of Pyrrhus, as a certain Author of great merit has done. But it would require more discussion to establish that certainty, than would suit this Advertisement; and I must be contented to refer the Reader upon this head to the various Dissertations of the Learned of the Academy of the Belles Lettres, in which it has been clearly proved.

I infer then, that Polybius is a Writer, whose authority is indisputable; and therefore I cannot easily conceive how any one can find room for ridiculing what Mr.

Anc. Hist.
 Vol. VIII.
 l. 17.
 § VII.
 Polyb.
 l. XIII.

 Rollin has related after him concerning the Tyrant Nabis, and the cruel machine, which he used for tormenting those, who refused to give him money. And indeed neither Polybius, nor Mr. Rollin, say, *that*

Com. de
 l'Hist.
 p. 120.

Tyrant made those, who brought him money, embrace his wife; which is an unfair addition, to the narration of those Historians. But as to the rest what difficulty is there to comprehend, that a machine in the shape of a Woman, and provided under cloaths with iron spikes, might be made to move by the means of springs; and that

ADVERTISEMENT.

that by pressing it against the breast of a man it might torture him extreamly: This Mr. Rollin relates after Polybius, who might have seen Nabis, and had passed his youth with persons of that Tyrant's intimate acquaintance.

I do not think in the same manner of Curtius's accounts, the shields that fell from Heaven, and the like stories, justly rejected by the ingenious Cenfor. Mr. Rollin repeats them as he found them in the originals, but without believing them himself, or expecting his Readers to believe them. It was impossible to omit them in a Roman History ; which suffices to justify him.

But the regard which I have for the memory of that great man does not admit me to be silent on our Critick's affecting to distinguish him most frequently by the single title of *Rheteur*, *Rhetorician*. He would undoubtedly have taken no offence at a name, that is no less honourable than that of a *Poet*. But it is so easy to have added other characters to it, as polite Writer, and nervous Author,

ADVERTISEMENT.

whose animated Works inspire the love of virtue and respect for Religion ; zealous for the publick good, modest Censurer, noble and generous soul, who praises with joy, and blames with reserve and repugnance ; it is, I say, so easy to have designed him by these marks and abundance of others that have acquired him the praises of all Europe, that I cannot sufficiently wonder to find him described solely by the most minute of all his titles. When a person thinks himself obliged to censure such a Writer, in my opinion, the least he can do is to begin by giving him his due praise, and that it is shewing a regard for one's own reputation, to pay homage to that of a man so universally esteemed.

It is not that I consider the quality of Rhetorician as below Mr. Rollin. Every profession of a man of letters is noble in itself and by its object ; the only question is to exercise with superiority, as he has done. In this point I think him capable of sustaining his adversary's charge with advantage ; and this I undertake to prove the more willingly, as in justifying him
I shall

ADVERTISEMENT.

I shall at the same time justify one of the finest of our Orators.

The same Critick blames Mr. Rollin Lettre sur l'Esprit p. 100. for having quoted the following passage in Mr. Flechier's funeral Oration upon the Marshal Turenne with praise : *Powers enemies to France you live : and Christian Charity forbids me to frame any wishes for your deaths. May you only acknowledge the justice of our arms ; accept the peace, which notwithstanding your losses you have so often rejected ; and with the abundance of your tears extinguish the flames of a war you have unfortunately kindled. God forbid, that I should carry my wishes farther ! The judgments of God are impenetrable. But you live : and I deplore in this Chair a wise and virtuous Captain, whose intentions were pure and upright, and whose virtue seemed to merit a greater extent of life.* This is the passage criticised, which it was proper to repeat in all its extent. We come now to our Critick's observations.

“ An Apostrophe in this taste might
“ have been proper at Rome in the
“ Civi

ADVERTISEMENT.

“ Civil War after the assassination of
“ Pompey, or in London after the mur-
“ ther of Charles the First ; because the
“ interests of Pompey and Charles the
“ First were the question. But does it
“ consist with decency ingenuously in the
“ rostrum to desire the deaths of the Em-
“ peror, the King of Spain and the Elec-
“ tors, and to put in ballance with them
“ the General of a King their enemy ?
“ Are the intentions of a Captain, which
“ can extend no farther than the service
“ of his Prince, to be compared with the
“ political interests of the crowned Heads,
“ against whom he served ? What should
“ we say of a German, who should have
“ desired the death of the King of France,
“ on the occasion of General Mercy’s
“ being killed, whose intentions were
“ pure and upright ? Why then has this
“ passage always been praised by Rheto-
“ ricians ? It is because the Figure in it-
“ self is fine and pathetick ; but they do
“ not examine the thought with respect
“ to its foundation and consistency. Plu-
“ tarch has said to Flechier : *You have*
“ *said a fine thing ; but all it wants is*
“ *application.*”

It

ADVERTISEMENT.

It must be owned, that this Criticism is very severe. I must however add, that it could only come from a man of a fine genius, and a great judge of consistency.

But is it real, that the Orator desires the death of the Emperor and the King of Spain? He condemns that wish; he disowns it; and confines himself to vows more conformable to morality and religion, and which are by no means repugnant to the respect due to Potentates, tho' enemies.

He indeed, though with abundance of reserve, makes a comparison between the Powers then at war with France and the Prince of Turenne, and from that comparison he seems to infer, that the French General was more worthy of living: so that had it been left to the choice and judgment of the Orator, upon whom the thunder ought to have fallen, he would have saved the Marshal Turenne. But what is there of injurious to Princes, not only foreigners, but strangers, in a preference founded solely upon personal qualities,
and

ADVERTISEMENT.

and which does not in the least attack the sublime preheminance of crowned Heads. Such an Apostrophe had undoubtedly been wrong placed at Vienna and Madrid : But it was spoke at Paris.

As to M. Turenne's pure intentions, which, says our Author, could only be to serve his King, it is certain in a Monarchical State, That is the principal duty of a General, considered as such. But as a Man and a Christian, he can and ought to unite with his intention of serving his Prince, that of contributing to the re-establishment of Peace, and direct his whole conduct to that end with entire integrity, not to be diverted by any view of particular interest. It is this purity and uprightness of intention for peace, that Mr. Flechier seems to have had principally in view, and which he opposes to the conduct of the enemy Princes, who have unfortunately kindled the war.

This passage therefore of Mr. Flechier does not seem *a fine thing without application*, and one which is only to be praised by *Rhetoricians*.

ADVERTISEMENT.

II. At the same time that I think it allowable for me to observe upon an illustrious Author's want of deference for Mr. Rollin, I am afraid I shall appear myself in this tenth Volume to forget the respect I owe him on so many accounts. I begin in it to treat the war of Mithridates anew, which he has related in the Ancient History: and if Plutarch thinks himself obliged to excuse himself to his Readers for venturing to relate the unfortunate expedition of the Athenians against Sicily after Thucydides, the situation I am in with respect to Mr. Rollin makes it a much more indispensable duty for me at least to give the publick an account of the motives of my conduct.

My first inclination was no doubt to respect a subject already executed by my Master, and to take all the advantage from his riches that I possibly could. This plan was at once both the most modest and the safest. I might securely have relied upon the approbation of the Publick, at least for the borrowed passages that it has already received so favourably. But I thought,
that

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

that by observing such a conduct, I should present the Publick with what it already possessed : and I assured myself, that it was meritorious to do otherwise, even though not so well.

Besides which, it could not be required of Mr. Rollin to treat the subjects, he had already related, as they occurred in a new manner. The same person has often but one way of considering an object. It would be but a superfluous kind of fecundity and worthy only of the Schools, to pique oneself upon performing two quite different works upon the same Historian. But as for me, to whom the subject is entirely new, I might be accused of sloth, if I chose rather to take it done to my hand, then to work upon it myself.

These considerations had already made a great impression upon me, and the opinion of friends, I have reason to respect, finally determined me.

I therefore give here the beginning of the War of Mithridates treated in my own manner, and I shall do the same in respect

ADVERTISEM E N T.

respect to the other common subjects of the Ancient and Roman Histories.

I only intreat, that I may not be compared with my Master ; and if my work considered in itself, be so fortunate not entirely to displease, that nothing more be required at my hands, and that I may not be reproached, for not having done better than was in my power.

Names

Names of the CONSULS and of the YEARS
contained in this Volume.

L. CORNELIUS SYLLA.

Q. POMPEIUS RUFUS.

A. R. 664.
Ant. C. 88.

CN. OCTAVIUS.

L. CORNELIUS CINNA.

A. R. 665.
Ant. C. 87.

C. MARIUS VII, and after his death,

L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.

L. CORNELIUS CINNA II.

A. R. 666.
Ant. C. 86.

L. CORNELIUS CINNA III.

CN. PAPIRIUS CARBO.

A. R. 667.
Ant. C. 85.

L. CORNELIUS CINNA IV.

CN. PAPIRIUS CARBO II.

A. R. 668.
Ant. C. 84.

L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.

C. NORBANUS.

A. R. 669.
Ant. C. 83.

C. MARIUS.

CN. PAPIRIUS CARBO III.

A. R. 670.
Ant. C. 82.

SYLLA DICTATOR.

M. TULLIUS DECULA.

CN. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

A. R. 671.
Ant. C. 81.

L. CORNELIUS SYLLA FELIX II.

Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS PIUS.

A. R. 672.
Ant. C. 80.

Names of the C O N S U L S, &c.

P. SERVILIUS VATIA, who was afterwards
A. R. 673. surnamed ISAURICUS.
Ant. C. 79. AP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

A. R. 674. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.
Ant. C. 78. Q. LUTATIUS CATULUS.

A. R. 675. D. JUNIUS BRUTUS.
Ant. C. 77. MAM. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS LIVIANUS.

A. R. 676. CN. OCTAVIUS.
Ant. C. 76. C. SCRIBONIUS CURIO.

A. R. 677. L. OCTAVIUS.
Ant. C. 75. C. AURELIUS COTTA.

A. R. 678. L. LICINIUS LUCULLUS.
Ant. C. 74. M. AURELIUS COTTA.

A. R. 679. M. TERENTIUS VARRO LUCULLUS.
Ant. C. 73. C. CASSIUS VARUS.

A. R. 680. L. GELLIUS POPLICOLA.
Ant. C. 72. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CLODIANUS.

A. R. 681. CN. AUFIDIUS ORESTES.
Ant. C. 71. P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SURA.

CONTENTS.

BOOK XXXI. Continued.

S E C T. II.

Marius's jealousy of Sylla rises to excess on the occasion of a present made by Bocchus to the Roman People. Both are ambitious of commanding in the war against Mithridates. Marius is supported by P. Sulpicius. That Tribune's character. The Senate having given Sylla the command of the war against Mithridates, Sulpicius endeavours to make the People transfer it to Marius. Sedition upon that occasion. Marius prevails, and has the employment he desired conferred upon him by the People. Sylla marches with his army against Rome. Perplexity of Marius. Deputations sent by him to Sylla in the name of the Senate. The latter seizes Rome. Marius flies. Sylla prevents Rome from being plundered. He reforms the government, raises the authority of the Senate, and depresses that of the People. He causes Marius, Sulpicius, and ten other Senators to be declared enemies of the publick. Sulpicius is taken and killed. Flight of Marius. Sylla's moderation. He suffers Cinna to be elected Consul. Marius's party resume courage. The Con-

C O N T E N T S.

Jul. Q. Pompeius is killed by his soldiers. Cinna, in order to force Sylla to quit Italy, causes him to be accused by a Tribune of the People. He endeavours to have Marius recalled. To succeed in that view, he undertakes to mingle the new citizens with the old tribes. Sedition on that occasion. Cinna is driven out of the city. He has Sertorius with him. Cinna is deprived of the Consulship, and Merula appointed in his stead. He gains the army, which was in Campania. He conciliates the States of Italy to his interest. Perplexity of the Consuls. Marius returns into Italy, and is received by Cinna. They march against Rome. Pompeius Strabo comes at last to the aid of Rome. Battle, in which one brother kills another. The Samnites join Cinna's party. Death of Pompeius Strabo. Hatred of the public for him. Marius offers Octavius battle, who dares not accept his defiance. Deputies sent to Cinna by the Senate. Merula abdicates the Consulship. New deputation to Cinna. Council held by Marius and Cinna, wherein the deaths of those of the contrary party are resolved. Marius and Cinna enter the city, which is given up to all the horrors of the war. Death of the Consul Octavius. Death of the two brothers L. and C. Cæsar, and of the Crassi, father and son. Death of the orator M. Antonius, Catulus, and Merula. Horrible slaughter at Rome. Cornutus saved by his slaves. Humanity of the Roman People. Lenity of Sertorius. New cruelties of Marius. His death. Scævala wounded with a dagger at the funeral of Marius. Reflection upon the character of Marius, and his fortune. Reflection upon the state of Rome.

page i

B O O K.

C O N T E N T S.

B O O K XXXII.

S E C T. I.

Ancestors and nobility of Mithridates. Comets, the pretended presage of his future greatness. He is exposed in his infancy to the plots of his guardians. They turn to his advantage. His cruelty. He was a great Eater and Drinker. His ambition and first conquests. Actual State of Asia Minor. Mithridates meditates long his scheme of war with the Romans. He divides Paphlagonia with Nicomedes. After having extirpated the race of the Kings of Cappadocia, he puts one of his sons in possession of that Kingdom. Competitor opposed by Nicomedes to the son of Mithridates. The Senate having offered the Cappadocians liberty, they choose rather to have a King, and elect Ariobarzanes, who is put into possession by Sylla, and then dethroned by Tigranes. Nicomedes, son of Nicomedes Philopater, is dethroned by Mithridates. Aquillius is sent by the Senate to reinstate the dethroned Kings. Mithridates forms a powerful league against the Romans. Nicomedes is engaged by Aquillius to make an incursion into the territories of Mithridates. The latter sends complaints to Rome. Ambiguous answer to the Romans. Mithridates dethrones Ariobarzanes. He sends a new Embassy to the Roman Generals, appealing to the decision of the Senate. The Roman Generals assemble three armies to reinstate Ariobarzanes and defend Nicomedes. Forces of Mithridates. Nicomedes is defeated by the Generals of Mithridates.

C O N T E N T S.

thridates. Aquillius is also overcome. The whole country remains open to Mithridates, who gains the affection of the People by his lenity and liberality. Speech of Mithridates to his army. All Asia Minor submits to him. He takes Oppius the Roman General prisoner : then Aquillius, whom he treats with indignities, and upon whom he inflicts a cruel punishment. He marries Monima. The Senate and People of Rome declare against him. He causes four-score thousand Romans to be massacred in one day. Rutilius escapes. Horrid calumny of Theophanes against Rutilius. Only the Rhodians continue faithful to the Romans. Mithridates besieges Rhodes in person, and is obliged to raise the siege. Two remarkable circumstances of his character. Measures which he takes for pushing the war, and invading Greece. History of Aristion the Sophist, who makes Mithridates master of Athens. Brutius Sura checks the pride of Mithridates. 56

S E C T. II.

Sylla goes to Greece. Supposed omen of the bad success of Mithridates. Sylla forms the siege of Athens. He plunders the temples of Olympia, Epidaurus, and Delphi. Comparison between the conduct of Sylla and that of the ancient Roman Generals. Invektives of the Athenians against Sylla and his wife. Vigorous defence of Archelaus. Famine in Athens. Aristion regards nothing but divesting himself, and will hearken to no terms of surrendering. The city is taken by force. Sylla is resolved at first to demolish it, but suffers himself to be dissuaded. Aristion is taken in the citadel, and put

C O N T E N T S.

put to death. The Piræus is taken and burnt. Sylla marches against the Generals of Mithridates. Battle of Charonea. New army sent by Mithridates into Greece. It is defeated before Orchomenus. Lucullus assembles a fleet, and enters the Ægean Sea. The Tetrarchs of the Gallo-Græcians put to death by order of Mithridates. The isle of Chio treated cruelly. Revolt of the cities of Asia, and new cruelties of Mithridates. Negotiation opened by Archelaus at an interview with Sylla. Flaccus lands in Greece. His character, and that of Fimbria his Lieutenant. Misunderstanding between Flaccus and Fimbria, and murder of Flaccus. Sylla advances towards the Hellespont. Suspicion conceived of Archelaus. Answer of Mithridates. Haughtiness of Sylla. Fimbria reduces Mithridates to extreme danger. Mithridates resolves to conclude a peace with Sylla. Their interview. Sylla justifies himself to his army for having made peace with Mithridates. He pursues Fimbria, and reduces him to kill himself. Dispositions of Sylla after the victory. He gives his soldiers great licence. He lays a fine of twenty thousand talents upon Asia. The Pirates ravage the coasts of Asia. Preference given by Sylla of the war with Mithridates to his personal interests. He prepares to return to Italy.

96

C O N T E N T S.

B O O K XXXIII.

S E C T. I.

Universal bankruptcy. Unjust law of Valerius Flaccus. Alteration of the species of coin. Decree to fix them. Fraud of Marius Gracidianus. Pompey accused of peculation on account of his father. His character. The beauty of his person in his youth. He had prevented his father's army from quitting him. Censors. Sylla's letters to the Senate. The Senate's Deputation to Sylla. The Consuls assemble great forces. Cinna's death. Carbo remains sole Consul. Carbo is for exacting Hostages from the cities of Italy. Constancy of Castricius, Magistrate of Placentia. Adventures of Crassus. He makes some movements in Spain. Metellus Pius driven out of Africa retires to Liguria, and afterwards joins Sylla. Decree of the Senate for disbanding all the armies. Preparations of the Consuls against Sylla. Affection of Sylla's soldiers for their General. Sylla lands in Italy, and advances as far as Campania without opposition. Defeat of Norbanus. The capitol burnt. Cethegus goes over to Sylla. Treachery of Teres to Carbo. Sylla debauches Scipio's army. Sertorius goes to Spain. Carbo's sayings concerning Sylla. Saying of Sylla to Crassus. Pompey, at the age of twenty three, raises an army of twelve legions. His first victories. He joins Sylla, who pays him great honours. Antipathy between Pompey and Crassus. Modesty and deference of Pompey for Metellus Pius.

C O N T E N T S.

Pius. Carbo Consul for the third time with Marius the younger. The Prætor Fabius is burnt in his palace at Utica. Advantages gained by Sylla's Lieutenants. He makes a treaty with the states of Italy. His confidence. Massacres decreed by the Consul Marius, and executed by Damasippus. Death of Scævola, the Pontifex Maximus. Battle of Sacriportus, in which Marius is defeated by Sylla. Siege of Præneste. Sylla is received into Rome. Ineffectual efforts to succour Præneste. Norbanus and Carbo abandon Italy. Last battle at the gates of Rome between Sylla and the Samnites. Sylla's change of manners. Six thousand prisoners massacred by his orders. Rome filled with murders. Proscription. Catilina's cruelties. Horrible punishment of Marius Gratidianus. Oppianicus gratifies his private revenge under the colour of the proscription. Cato, at fourteen years of age, is for killing Sylla. Cæsar proscribed, and saved by the intercession of powerful friends. Sylla's words upon that occasion. End of the siege of Præneste. Young Marius's death. Sylla assumes the surname of Happy. Massacre executed by Sylla in Præneste. Cities proscribed, sold, and demolished by Sylla. Pompey is sent into Sicily to pursue the remains of the conquered party. Carbo's death. Death of Soranus. Lenity of Pompey. Generosity of Sthenius. Pompey's entirely laudable conduct in Sicily.

142

S E C T. II.

Sylla causes himself to be nominated Dictator. Unlimited power given him. He appears in publick

C O N T E N T S.

publick attended in the most terrible manner. He causes Lucretius Ofella to be massacred in the Forum, for standing for the Consulship contrary to his order. He triumphs over Mithridates. Sylla's Laws. He weakens and depresses the Tribuneship. He augments the inclosure of the city. He sells the estates of the proscribed in a tyrannical manner. Goodwill of a bad Poet rewarded by Sylla. Sylla a man of pleasure. Cressus enriches himself with the estates of the proscribed. Product arising from the sale of these estates to the publick Treasury. Affair of Sex. Roscius. Beginnings of Cicero. His birth. His first studies. He is admired from thenceforth. His application on quitting the Schools : Philosophy : Law : Exercises proper for Eloquence. He is charged with the cause of Sex. Roscius, and pleads it with abundance of courage and liberty. He makes a voyage into Asia. Grief of Apollonius Molo on his account. He practises Action with Roscius the Comedian. Death of Norbanus. Taking of Nola and Volaterra. Pompey is sent into Africa against Domitius. Ridiculous adventure, that retards him some days. Battle, in which Domitius is defeated and killed. Pompey carries the war into Numidia. Sylla recalls him. Emotion of Pompey's soldiers on that occasion. Surname of Great given him by Sylla, who however refuses him a Triumph. Bold saying of Pompey. His triumph. Sylla at the same time Consul and Dictator. Exceeding gratitude of Metellus to the author of his father's re-establishment. Murena's Triumph, and account of the war he had made with Mithridates. Mithridates puts an end

CONTENTS.

to the revolt of the People of Colchis by giving them his son for King : and then kills him. Occasion of Murena's declaring war against Mithridates. Inconsiderable events of that war. End of the war. Verres, Dolabella's Lieutenant, Proconsul of Cilicia. He is for taking away the daughter of Philodamus : and afterwards causes Philodamus himself and his son to be condemned to die. Ten thousand Slaves made free by Sylla. Lands distributed to the officers and soldiers of twenty-three legions. Sylla abdicates the Dictatorship. Reflections upon that event. Ceremony of the abdication. Sylla is insulted by a young man. He reproaches Pompey with having made Lepidus Consul. He gives a feast of several days to the People. Death of Metella. Sylla marries again with Valeria. Sylla has the lowsy disease. He gives laws to the inhabitants of Puzzuoli. He works upon the Memoirs of his life till two days before his death. His will. Last violence of Sylla. He dies. Reflection upon the surname of Fortunate assumed by Sylla. His obsequies. 194

BOOK XXXIV.

SECT. I.

Sallust's History lost. Sylla's example fatal to liberty. Character of Pompey's ambition. Lepidus undertakes to raise the conquered party. Idea of his character and conduct. Discourse of Lepidus to the People. Reflection upon his scheme. Catulus and all the persons of worth oppose

C O N T E N T S.

oppose him. *Lepidus assembles troops, and puts himself at their head. Accommodation concluded with him. He returns a second time with troops against Rome, and demands a second Consulship. Speech of Philipꝰus against Lepidus. Catulus and Pompey give Lepidus battle, and gain the victory. Election of Consuls. Pompey causes Brutus, the father of him who killed Cæsar, to be slain. Lepidus defeated a second time, goes to Sardinia, and dies. Moderation of the victorious party. Pompey is sent into Spain against Sertorius. History of the war with Sertorius traced from its origin. Sertorius sets out for Italy, and goes to Spain. He strengthens himself there, and particularly gains the affection of the People. Annius, sent by Sylla, drives him out of Spain, and obliges him to keep the sea. Sertorius conceives thoughts of returning to the fortunate islands. He goes to Africa. He is invited by the Lusitanians to put himself at their head. Great qualities of Sertorius. Idea of his exploits in Spain. Metellus Pius sent against him, experiences great difficulties. He undertakes a siege, which Sertorius obliges him to raise. Great successes of Sertorius. His address in commanding the Barbarians. Hind of Sertorius. He disciplines, and gives laws to the Spaniards. He takes care of the education of the children of the principal families. Incredible attachment of the Spaniards to him. He reserves all the rights of Sovereignty to the Romans. His love for his country; and for his mother. The troops of Perperna force their leader to join Sertorius. He corrects the blind impetuosity of the Barbarians by a comical, but instructive, scene. He subdues the Characitanians*

C O N T E N T S.

nians by an ingenious stratagem. Pompey arrives in Spain. He is baffled before the city of Laurona. Action of justice of Sertorius. Winter quarters. The armies take the field. Metellus gains a great battle over Hirtulejus. Battle of Sucrona between Sertorius and Pompey. Saying of Sertorius upon Metellus and Pompey. Sertorius's hind lost and found again. Good intelligence between Metellus and Pompey. General Action between Sertorius on one side, and Metellus and Pompey on the other. Sertorius dismisses his troops, who reassemble soon after. Immoderate joy of Metellus on the occasion of his pretended victory over Sertorius. Pomp and luxury of the feasts given him. He sets a price upon the head of Sertorius. Metellus and Pompey, barrased and fatigued by Sertorius, retire into very remote quarters. Mithridates sends an Embassy to Sertorius, to ask his alliance. Haughty answer of Sertorius. Surprise of Mithridates. The alliance is concluded. Threatning letter of Pompey to the Senate, who sends him money. Perperna cabals against Sertorius. Desertion and treason punished with rigour. Cruelty of Sertorius in respect to the children, whom he caused to be brought up at Osca. Reflection of Plutarch on that head. Conspiracy of Perperna against the life of Sertorius. Perperna becomes head of the party. He is defeated by Pompey, who causes him to be killed without vouchsafing to see him, and burns all Sertorius's papers. Peace restored in Spain. Trophy and triumphs of the victors.

244

S E C T.

C O N T E N T S.

S E C T. II.

Multitude and complication of facts. Order, in which they will be distributed. Origin of the war with Spartacus. Character of that Captain, and his first condition. His first successes. Augmentation of his forces. Arms grossly made. Excesses into which the slaves give notwithstanding Spartacus. P. Varinius Prætor, defeated by Spartacus. Moderation and prudence of Spartacus in prosperity. The two Consuls and a Prætor sent against him. Division between the revolted slaves. Crixus is defeated and killed. Victories gained by Spartacus over the three Roman Generals. Three hundred prisoners forced to fight as Gladiators to honour the funeral of Crixus. Spartacus marches against Rome. Luxury and bad discipline in the Roman armies. Crassus the Prætor is charged with the war against Spartacus. His severity. He decimates a cohort. He forces Spartacus to retire towards the straits of Sicily. Spartacus endeavours in vain to pass over part of his troops into Sicily. Crassus shuts him up in Bruttium by lines drawn from sea to sea. Spartacus forces the lines. Terror of Crassus. He gains an advantage that revives his hopes. New victory of Crassus. One of his lieutenants, and his Quæstor are defeated. Last battle, in which Spartacus is defeated and killed. Vanity of Pompey, who having defeated a body of the flying slaves, is for ascribing the glory of terminating the war to himself. Oration decreed to Crassus.—DETACHED FACTS. Varro Lucullus makes conquests in Thrace, and triumphs. Other Proconsuls of Macedonia, who before him
had

C O N T E N T S.

had made war against the Thracians. New collection of the Sibyls verses made on all sides. Contests concerning the Tribuneship. Curio, an Orator of a singular kind. Infraction of Sylla's Law against the Tribunes. The Tribuneship reinstated in all its rights by Pompey. Scarcity of Provisions in Rome, whilst the Pirates were masters of the sea. Quæstorship of Cicero. Mortification which he suffers on that occasion. He chooses to reside always at Rome. Youth of Cæsar. He retires into Asia. He returns to Rome after Sylla's death. He accuses Dola-bella. He returns into Asia. He is taken by Pirates, whom he afterwards causes to be crucified. After his return to Rome, he labours to conciliate the favour of the People. He unites debauchery with ambition. He constantly pursues the plan of reviving the faction of Marius. His Quæstorship in Spain. Effect of a statue of Alexander's upon him. WAR OF THE PIRATES. Rise and progress of the power of the Pirates. Servilius Isauricus makes war against them with success, but without destroying them. Command of the seas given to the Prætor M. Antonius. He is shipwrecked on a cruize on the Island of Crete. He dies of grief in effect. His easy and profuse disposition. The Pirates become more powerful than ever.

307

B O O K

BOOK THE THIRTY FIRST
Continued.

THE
ROMAN HISTORY.

SECT. II.

Marius's jealousy of Sylla rises to excess, on the occasion of a present made by Bocchus to the Roman People. Both are ambitious of commanding the war against Mithridates. Marius is supported by P. Sulpicius. That Tribune's character. The Senate having given Sylla the command of the war against Mithridates, Sulpicius endeavours to make the People transfer it to Marius. Sedition upon that occasion. Marius prevails, and has the employment he desired conferred upon him by the People. Sylla marches with his army against Rome. Perplexity of Marius. Deputations sent by him to Sylla in the name of the Senate. The latter seizes Rome. Marius flies. Sylla prevents Rome from being plundered. He reforms the government, raises the authority of the Senate, and depresses that of the People. He causes Marius, Sulpicius, and ten other Senators to be declared enemies of the publick. Sulpicius is

VOL. X. B taken

taken and killed. Flight of Marius Sylla's moderation. He suffers Cinna to be elected Consul. Marius's party resume courage. The Consul Q. Pompeius is killed by his soldiers. Cinna, in order to force Sylla to quit Italy, causes him to be accused by a Tribune of the People. He endeavours to have Marius recalled. To succeed in that view, he undertakes to mingle the new citizens with the old tribes. Sedition on that occasion. Cinna is driven out of the city. He has Sertorius with him. Cinna is deprived of the Consulship, and Merula appointed in his stead. He gains the army, which was in Campania. He conciliates the States of Italy to his interest. Perplexity of the Consuls. Marius returns into Italy, and is received by Cinna. They march against Rome. Pompeius Strabo comes at last to the aid of Rome. Battle, in which one brother kills another. The Samnites join Cinna's party. Death of Pompeius Strabo. Hatred of the publick for him. Marius offers Octavius battle, who dares not accept his defiance. Deputies sent to Cinna by the Senate. Merula abdicates the Consulship. New deputation to Cinna. Council held by Marius and Cinna, wherein the deaths of those of the contrary party are resolved. Marius and Cinna enter the city, which is given up to all the horrors of war. Death of the Consul Octavius. Death of the two Brothers L. and C. Cæsar, and of the Crassi, father and son. Death of the orator M. Antonius, Catulus, and Merula. Horrible slaughter at Rome. Cornutus saved by his slaves. Humanity of the Roman People. Lenity of Sertorius. New cruelties of Marius. His death. Scævola wounded with a dagger at the funeral of Marius. Reflexion upon the character



character of Marius, and his fortune. Reflexion upon the state of Rome.

L. CORNELIUS SYLLA.

Q. POMPEIUS RUFUS.

A. R. 664.

Ant. C. 88.

DURING the Consulship of Sylla, the *Marius's* enmity between him and Marius was carried to the highest excesses, and became a war *jealousy of* in form. Two years before, swords were very *Sylla rises to excess, on the occasion of a present made by Bocchus to the Roman People.* near being drawn upon the occasion of a present made by Bocchus to the Roman People. It was statues of Victory carrying trophies, and attended with a group of gold, that represented Jugurtha delivered up to Sylla by Bocchus. *Plut. in Mar. & Sylla. Appian. Civ. l. 1.* These statues were placed in the capitol: which piqued Marius's jealousy. He could not suffer, that Sylla should ascribe to himself the glory of having terminated the war with the king of Numidia. He was for having the statues removed from the capitol, which Sylla opposed. The friends of both had already drawn up around their leaders; and were upon the point of coming to blows, when the war of the allies, which broke out at this juncture, forced the two factions to unite, at least for a time, against the common enemy.

This ill-extinguished fire broke out again as *Both are* soon as the danger was over. A new subject *ambitious* engrossed the thoughts of the two heads of party: this was the command of the war against *of commanding in the war against Mithridates.* Mithridates, of which both were ambitious, as an occasion of acquiring great glory and riches, without much danger. In Sylla, that desire had nothing extraordinary, and contrary to reason. He was still in the vigour of life, being then nine and forty; he had lately done great

A. R. 664. services, and signalized himself exceedingly in a
 Ant. C. 88. difficult, dangerous, and disagreeable war. In
 a word, he was Consul, and in that capacity ac-
 tually General of the Roman armies; so that he
 had a just right to appropriate the first and most
 glorious province to himself.

Marius had no other titles but his ambition
 and avidity, passions that never grew old. He
 could not bear to be considered in the common-
 wealth, like those old rusty arms, to use Plu-
 tarch's words, that are never intended for far-
 ther use. Having none of the talents that
 could distinguish a citizen in time of peace,
 and desiring to shine at any price whatsoever, he
 languished after war, and did not consider any
 of the reasons, that rendered him incapable of
 it for the future. He was then not much less
 than seventy years old: he was become exces-
 sively gross and heavy: it was not long since he
 had been forced, by the infirmities of age, to
 renounce a neighbouring war, of which he
 could not support the fatigues. And now he
 ardently desired to cross the seas, and carry the
 war to the extremities of Asia. To remove the
 idea himself had given of his decay, he went
 every day to the field of Mars to exercise
 amongst the youth, and affected to shew, that
 he had still both agility to handle arms, and vi-
 gour to keep a good seat on horse-back. Some
 applauded him. But (a) the most sensible pitied

(a) Τοῖς δὲ βελτίστοις ἔδεικτο
 εὐχόμενον ἱππεῖ τῇ ἐλπίδι, καὶ
 καὶ τῇ φιλοδοξίᾳ, ὅτι αὐτοῦ
 ταῖς ἐκ πύργου καὶ μεγάλῃ
 ἐκ μικρῇ γὰρ τοῖς ὄρεσι ἐκ οὐδὲν
 ἐπιτυχίαι, ἀλλ' ἀπολαύει ἐν ἐπιτυχίᾳ
 τῶν παρόντων, ἀλλ' ὥστε ἐνδεῆς
 ἀπαντῶν, εἰς λαμπροσύνην καὶ
 τὸν εὐχόμενον Πόντον ἄρας ἐκ θρι-
 ἀμβου καὶ δόξης ἐκφέρει τοσούτον
 γῆρας, τοῖς Μιθριδάτη σατρά-
 πασι ἀμαχόμενον. Plut. in
 Mar.

the

the blindness of a man, who from poor being A. R. 664.
Ant. C. 88. become rich, and from a mean and obscure birth having raised himself to the highest greatness, did not know how to set bounds to his fortune, nor enjoy his reputation and opulence in quiet; but, as if he had wanted every thing, was anxious to transport, from the arms of glory and triumphs, a cold and heavy old age into Cappadocia, and beyond the Euxine sea, to make war with the Satrapæ of Mithridates. He endeavoured to hide this eager desire under a specious pretext, by giving out, that he proposed to instruct his son in person in the art of war. But no body was deceived by that plausible discourse: the motive that actuated him was known, and every body openly referred him to his country-house and the coast of Bajæ, to drink the hot waters, and cure his fluxions. He really had a most delightful country-house at Misenum near Bajæ, adorned in a luxurious taste, that ill suited a soldier roughly educated, and whose whole life had passed in the fatigues and labours of war.

The advice given Marius was good: but he Marius was far from being inclined to follow it. On supports the contrary, resolving to pursue his point with himself vigour, he drew P. Sulpicius into his interest, with P. whose good conduct hitherto, sustained by his Sulpicius. sublime talents, had acquired him universal That Tri- esteem; and who, on a sudden, as if (a) he had bune's cha- grown weary of being happy with virtue, pre- rafter. cipitated himself into the greatest misfortunes,

(a) Quasi pigeret eum virtutem suarum, & bene consulta ei malè cederent, subito pravus & præceps. Vell. II. 18.

A. R. 662. by making himself the most furious Tribune of
Ant. C. 88. the People, that had ever been in that office.

P. Sulpicius was a man, says Plutarch, that never had an equal for excess of wickedness: so that it was not to be enquired whether he surpassed others in every kind of vice, but in what kind of vices he exceeded himself. In him were united cruelty, impudence, and insatiable avarice, without remorse, shame, or the least regard to appearances. He publicly sold the freedom of Rome to freedmen and strangers, and kept a bank openly in the Forum for so infamous a traffic. He had under him, or to use the expression in his pay, three thousand men that bore arms; and besides, never appeared in public, but attended by six hundred young Roman Knights ready to perpetrate any thing, whom he called the *Anti-Senate*. It is easy to judge what enormous expenses this must have cost him. Accordingly, though he himself had passed a law, that prohibited any Senator to owe more than * two thousand drachmas, he was found at his death to be three † millions in debt. In a word, to paint him at once, we have only to call to mind what kind of man Saturninus had been. Sulpicius made him his Hero, except that he judged him too timid and circumspect. Such was the Tribune that Marius called in to his aid.

* About
50 l.
† About
75000 l.
sterling.

The Senate
having
given Sylla
the com-
mand of
the war
against
Mithri-
dates.
Sulpicius
endeavours
to make the
people
transfer it
to Marius.

The command of the war against Mithridates had been conferred on Sylla by the Senate, with orders to set out as soon as he should have cleared Campania of some troops of Samnites, that continued in possession of Nola, and its neighbourhood. He had already joined his army, and was successfully employed in pursuing that remainder of rebels. Marius and Sulpicius be-
lieved

lieved his absence a favourable occasion for de- A. R. 664.
Ant. C. 88. priving him by the People of the employment, which the Senate had given him. But it was necessary to begin by conciliating the favour of the multitude. Accordingly, without shewing immediately what they aimed at, Sulpicius proposed a law, that, if it passed, would render him absolutely master in the Assemblies of the People. The design of it was, to distribute the new citizens into all the Tribes. This law set the whole city in a flame. The old citizens, with Q. Pompeius at their head, opposed an institution, that deprived them of all power and authority, to the utmost. Sulpicius was not of a character to recede. He had lived till now in great union with Pompeius. But on this occasion that friendship changed into extreme enmity: things were soon carried to the utmost violences; and Sylla was obliged to return to Rome to support his colleague, who found himself under the most perplexing difficulties.

The two Consuls having joined, conferred Sedition on
that occa-
sion. together, and conceived that they had found an assured expedient for eluding the fury of the Tribune without noise or effort. They published a decree, to prohibit all Assemblies of the People and public deliberations, for several days; in a word, to introduce a general cessation of business, as was the custom on festival days: these are Appian's words. Their view was to gain time, and to proceed calmly in composing the affair.

But Sulpicius did not give them leisure for that; whilst they were * haranguing the multi-

* It was allowed to harangue the People on festival-days, though they were not permitted to proceed to their suffrages.

A. R. 664.
Ant. C. 88.

tude before the temple of Castor, the Tribune appeared with his guard armed with daggers under their robes, and with orders to spare no body, not even the Consuls. He attacked their decree as unjust, and insisted upon its being immediately revoked. On the opposition of the Consuls a dreadful tumult arose: the followers of Sulpicius drew their daggers: many of the citizens were killed upon the spot, and amongst others the Consul Pompeius's son, who was at the same time Sylla's son-in-law. The Consuls in so great a danger endeavoured to fly: and Q. Pompeius in effect found means to escape. As for Sylla, it is certain that he entered Marius's house. But the friends of the latter say, that he entered it of himself as an Asylum to take refuge there, and that Marius had the generosity to cause him to be conducted out through a back-door. Sylla related the fact quite differently in his memoirs. He affirmed, that Sulpicius having caused him to be surrounded by his people, with naked swords in their hands, he had in that manner conducted him to Marius's house: and that after such a deliberation, as could be held in the like circumstances, he had been compelled to return to the Forum, to annul his decree, and thereby leave the Tribune at liberty to make the people deliberate upon the law he proposed. However it were in respect to these different accounts, of which the first seems the most probable, Sylla immediately quitted Rome, and went to put himself at the head of his army, which he had left in Campania.

Marius
prevails
and has the
employment
he desired,
conferred
on him.

Sulpicius continuing master of the field of battle, caused his law to pass: and immediately unveiling the secret motive of his whole conduct

duct, he proposed to the people to give Marius the command of the war against Mithridates. The thing met with no difficulty; and even the troops actually under Sylla's command were given to him; so that Marius instantly dispatched two legionary Tribunes, to take possession of the command of that army in his name.

But Sylla was not so docile as his rival imagined: and resolved to defend his right with force. This plan carried him a great way. The deliberation of the people annulled his title, which was the decree of the Senate. He could not retain the command, whilst that deliberation should subsist. His adversaries, who were the authors of it, ruled all things in Rome. Nothing less therefore, was the question, than to march against Rome with his army. The consequences did not terrify him; and indeed the unjust and violent conduct of the opposite faction supplied him with plausible pretexts for assuring himself, that he was going not so much to attack his country, as to deliver it from oppression. But he apprehended that his soldiers would be startled at so new and unheard of a design, which, at first sight, must naturally inspire them with horror. He therefore, assembled them, and by giving them an account of the violence done him at Rome, and the injustice now intended to be added by depriving him of a command conferred by the Senate, and to which he had a right as Consul. He afterwards interested themselves in his cause, by insinuating, that, if Marius was charged with this war, they had reason to fear, he should prefer other troops to them, and thereby deprive them of the occasion of enriching themselves with the spoils of Asia.

This

A. R. 664.
Ant. C. 88.

*Sylla
marches
with his
army a-
gainst
Rome.*

A. R. 664.
Ant. C. 88.

This discourse was received with applause. However Sylla was afraid to express the design he had formed in clear terms, and contented himself with recommending to them, to hold themselves in readiness to execute the orders, which it should be necessary to give them in the present situation of affairs. The soldiers perfectly comprehended his meaning, and cried out, that he should lead them directly to Rome, and they would cause justice to be done him. This was what Sylla expected: the thing was resolved and executed that moment; and then, for the first time, a Roman Consul was seen marching against Rome with an army. Marius's Tribunes having presented themselves were stoned to death. However all the General officers, that served under Sylla, abandoned him to a man, out of respect for the name of their country, and not being able to resolve to turn its own arms against it. Only his Quæstor continued with him.

Marius and Sulpicius having received advice of the death of the two Tribunes, used reprisals upon Sylla's friends at Rome. Thus both sides crossed each other; and whilst some quitted Sylla's camp to return to the city, others fled from the city to seek refuge in it.

*Perplexity
of Marius's
Deputies
sent by
him to
Sylla in the
name of the
Senate.*

But these reprisals did not advance Marius's affairs, who was in a cruel perplexity. Sylla advanced at the head of six legions, amounting to thirty thousand foot, and six thousand horse. He was also supported by his Colleague, who had quitted his retreat to join him, thereby uniting the whole authority of the Consulship. Though Pompeius had brought with him only his name, that was no inconsiderable reinforcement: and Sylla laid so much stress upon this concert

concert between them, that he ascribed it in his A. R. 664.
Ant. C. 88. Memoirs to the protection of the gods, and that singular good-fortune which attended all his undertakings. Marius had the Senate for him, which he actually in a manner kept in captivity. For that body then made little or no resistance against violence, and almost always submitted to the yoke of the strongest. Accordingly he made the Senate send deputation upon deputation to Sylla; at first to demand what motive induced him to advance in that manner with an army against Rome; and afterwards to forbid him to do so. Sylla contented himself with answering such as questioned him, that he was going to deliver his country from the tyrants, that oppressed it. But the Prætors, Brutus and Servilius, who were charged with more severe orders, having undertaken to speak with haughtiness and a tone of Authority, Sylla's soldiers, who perfectly knew how to set them at work, and concealed his game under their emotions, fell upon them, broke their fasces, put their Licitors to flight, and stripped themselves of their Robes (*Pretextæ*;) so that the Prætors thought themselves very happy in escaping with their lives; denouncing at Rome, by the sad condition in which they appeared, the fury of the soldiery and the extreme danger of the city.

Marius was therefore under the necessity of having recourse to prayers: and new Deputies were sent from the Senate to implore Sylla to advance no farther with his troops against the city, and to wait till some method of reconciliation should be found; promising him at the same time that he should have reason to be satisfied. He declared that he was disposed to act as they desired, and even in the presence of the
Deputies,

A. R. 664.
 Ann. C. 88.

Deputies, ordered the proper officers to mark out a camp. But, with a perfidy, not excusable, even in a war with a stranger, the Deputies had no sooner turned their backs, than he continued his march, and arrived before Rome at an instant, when he was least expected.

*Sylla seizes
 Rome.*

As he appeared as an enemy he was received as such by the inhabitants, and besides the soldiers, whom Marius and Sulpicius had been able to assemble in haste, the whole multitude getting upon the house-tops, poured such an hail of stones and tiles upon Sylla's troops, as prevented them from advancing, Sylla upon that made no difficulty of crying out to his people to set fire to the houses, and himself, taking a lighted torch in his hand set them the example; at the same time he ordered his archers to discharge their fire-arrows: acting, says Plutarch (e), like a madman, who had lost his senses, and suffered himself to be absolutely swayed by passion, as forgetting his friends, relations, and adherents: he had no thoughts but

CORNELIUS, POMPEIUS, Consuls:

13

Capitol: and seeing that he was upon the point of being forced there, he quitted the city with Sulpicius and some others, leaving Sylla victorious. This was the first battle in form fought in Rome between the citizens; no longer in the manner of a tumultuous sedition, but to the sound of trumpets, and with ensigns flying as between enemies.

A. R. 664.
Ant. C. 88.

Sylla used moderation with his victory. When master of the city he saved it from being plundered; and having observed some soldiers who pillaged contrary to his orders, he caused them to be punished that instant, and upon the spot. He planted guards in all the important posts; and himself and his Colleague passed the whole night, in visiting all the quarters, to prevent the terror of some, and the boldness of others from occasioning any disorder.

*Sylla prevents
Rome from
being plundered.*

He did not content himself with having put an End to the troubles excited by Marius: he resolved to prevent such as might revive in the sequel, and by reforming the government, to

*Sylla reforms the
government, rais-*

A. R. 664. This discourse was received with applause.
Ann. C. 88. However Sylla was afraid to express the design he had formed in clear terms, and contented himself with recommending to them, to hold themselves in readiness to execute the orders, which it should be necessary to give them in the present situation of affairs. The soldiers perfectly comprehended his meaning, and cried out, that he should lead them directly to Rome, and they would cause justice to be done him. This was what Sylla expected: the thing was resolved and executed that moment; and then, for the first time, a Roman Consul was seen marching against Rome with an army. Marius's Tribunes having presented themselves were stoned to death. However all the General officers, that served under Sylla, abandoned him to a man, out of respect for the name of their country, and not being able to resolve to turn its own arms against it. Only his Quæstor continued with him.

Marius and Sulpicius having received advice of the death of the two Tribunes, used reprisals upon Sylla's friends at Rome. Thus both sides crossed each other; and whilst some quitted Sylla's camp to return to the city, others fled from the city to seek refuge in it.

Perplexity But these reprisals did not advance Marius's
of Marius affairs, who was in a cruel perplexity. Sylla
Deputati- advanced at the head of six legions, amounting
on sent by to thirty thousand foot, and six thousand horse.
him to He was also supported by his Collegue, who
Sylla in the had quitted his retreat to join him, thereby unit-
ing the ing the whole authority of the Consulship.
Senate. Though Pompeius had brought with him only his name, that was no inconsiderable reinforcement: and Sylla laid so much stress upon this concert

concert between them, that he ascribed it in his Memoirs to the protection of the gods, and that singular good-fortune which attended all his undertakings. Marius had the Senate for him, which he actually in a manner kept in captivity. For that body then made little or no resistance against violence, and almost always submitted to the yoke of the strongest. Accordingly he made the Senate send deputation upon deputation to Sylla; at first to demand what motive induced him to advance in that manner with an army against Rome; and afterwards to forbid him to do so. Sylla contented himself with answering such as questioned him, that he was going to deliver his country from the tyrants, that oppressed it. But the Prætors, Brutus and Servilius, who were charged with more severe orders, having undertaken to speak with haughtiness and a tone of Authority, Sylla's soldiers, who perfectly knew how to set them at work, and concealed his game under their emotions, fell upon them, broke their fasces, put their Lictors to flight, and stripped themselves of their Robes (*Pretextæ*;) so that the Prætors thought themselves very happy in escaping with their lives; denouncing at Rome, by the sad condition in which they appeared, the fury of the soldiery and the extreme danger of the city.

Marius was therefore under the necessity of having recourse to prayers: and new Deputies were sent from the Senate to implore Sylla to advance no farther with his troops against the city, and to wait till some method of reconciliation should be found; promising him at the same time that he should have reason to be satisfied. He declared that he was disposed to act as they desired, and even in the presence of the
Deputies,

A. R. 664.
Ant. C. 88.

A. R. 664.
Ant. C. 83.

Deputies, ordered the proper officers to mark out a camp. But, with a perfidy, not excusable, even in a war with a stranger, the Deputies had no sooner turned their backs, than he continued his march, and arrived before Rome at an instant, when he was least expected.

*Sylla seizes
Rome.*

As he appeared as an enemy he was received as such by the inhabitants, and besides the soldiers, whom Marius and Sulpicius had been able to assemble in haste, the whole multitude getting upon the house-tops, poured such an hail of stones and tiles upon Sylla's troops, as prevented them from advancing, Sylla upon that made no difficulty of crying out to his people to set fire to the houses, and himself, taking a lighted torch in his hand set them the example; at the same time he ordered his archers to discharge their fire-arrows: acting, says Plutarch (a), like a madman, who had lost his senses, and suffered himself to be absolutely swayed by passion, as forgetting his friends, relations, and adherents; he had no thoughts but of his enemies, and employed fire which can make no distinction between the innocent and the guilty.

*Marius
flee.*

Marius had not sufficient forces to oppose an army. He made the utmost efforts: he called in to his aid both the citizens that were in the houses, and even the slaves, to whom he promised liberty. But all was in vain; and only three slaves suffered themselves to be tempted by his promises. He therefore retired to the

(a) Κατ' εὐνοῖαν λαγισαῖον,
ἀλλ' ἑμπάτην αὖ καὶ τῶν εὐμῶν
καὶ τῶν εὐνοῶν τῶν πρὸς τὸν
πολεμικόν, ὅσοι τῶν ἐχθρῶν
μὴ εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ σὺν τῷ

καὶ εὐνοῶν εἰς ἑξῆς λόγον
διδόμῃ. εὖ δ' αἶσθη, κατήκει δὲ
πρὸς τὸν αὐτίκα καὶ μὴ ἀν-
τιπρὸς εἶναι. Plut. in Sylla.

Capitol

Capitol: and seeing that he was upon the point of being forced there, he quitted the city with Sulpicius and some others, leaving Sylla victorious. This was the first battle in form fought in Rome between the citizens; no longer in the manner of a tumultuous sedition, but to the sound of trumpets, and with ensigns flying as between enemies.

A. R. 664.
Ant. C. 88.

Sylla used moderation with his victory. When master of the city he saved it from being plundered; and having observed some soldiers who pillaged contrary to his orders, he caused them to be punished that instant, and upon the spot. He planted guards in all the important posts; and himself and his Colleague passed the whole night, in visiting all the quarters, to prevent the terror of some, and the boldness of others from occasioning any disorder.

Sylla prevents Rome from being plundered.

He did not content himself with having put an End to the troubles excited by Marius: he resolved to prevent such as might revive in the sequel, and by reforming the government, to secure, if possible, the tranquillity of the Commonwealth. The plan, which he followed in this reformation, was to exalt the authority of the Senate and Nobility, and to diminish the power of the People, whose temerity and caprice had long occasioned such great calamities. He therefore assembled the People, and after having deplored the sad necessity, to which the injustice of his enemies had reduced him, he deplored the unhappiness of the Commonwealth given up as a prey to perverse men, who by flattering the multitude for their own interest, frequently seduce them to take measures most repugnant to the publick good. To remedy this inconvenience, which drew so many others after

Sylla reforms the government, raises the authority of the Senate, and reduces that of the people.

A. R. 664.
Ant. C. 88.

after it, he first revived an ancient custom, which had been abolished for some ages, and decreed, that nothing should be proposed to the People, that had not first been deliberated and approved by the Senate. In the second place, he made another very important change, which was, that for the future the People, instead of voting by Tribes, should vote by Centuries. The difference was great. The division of the Tribes having been made according to the quarters of the city, or districts of the country inhabited by the citizens, every thing was confounded in them, the noble with the mean, the rich with the poor: and as the number of the latter is always the greatest, the mean people bore the sway in the Tribes. On the contrary the distribution by Centuries, had the difference of the riches each person possessed for its foundation: and that distribution had been managed in such a manner, that the rich alone formed a majority of Centuries, and consequently had more voices than the whole multitude of the poor.

The changes introduced by Sylla already very much lessened the authority of the Tribunes. He made still further breaches in it, which History has not circumstantiated. But it was during his Dictatorship, that he gave the Tribunitian Power the greatest blow, as we shall say in its place.

And lastly, he caused to be cancelled and annulled, as contrary to the Laws, all the Decrees Sulpicius had passed since the vacation prescribed by the Consuls, and thereby reinstated himself in full and legal possession of the command of the war against Mithridates.

It now only remained for Sylla to satiate his revenge. He assembled the Senate, and proposed to declare the two Marii, father and son Sulpicius, and nine other Senators, their principal adherents, enemies to their country. Every thing trembled before the Consul. However Q. Scævola the Augur, father-in-law of young Marius, ventured to oppose him. He at first refused to give his opinion. Then, as Sylla urged it, that venerable old man being forced to explain himself, did so with all possible courage and constancy : *Neither these soldiers, said he, with whom you have surrounded the Senate, nor your menaces frighten me. Do not think that to preserve the feeble remains of a languishing life, and of a blood frozen in my veins, I can declare Marius an enemy to Rome, by whom I remember, that the city of Rome, and all Italy have been preserved.* Scævola's example was admired, but it found no followers. The decree of the Senate was conformable to the Consul's proposal, and it was, "That the two Marii, Sulpicius, P. Cethegus, Junius Brutus, the two Granii, Albinovanus, Lætorius, Rubrius, and two others expressly mentioned, but whose names are not come down to us, for having excited a sedition, made war upon the Consuls, and called in the slaves to liberty, were declared enemies of the publick ; that in consequence all persons should be permitted to fall upon, kill, or bring them to the Consuls ; and that their estates should be confiscated." It appears, that there were also rewards promised to such as should bring in their head. But it is not said, that this promise was included in the decree of the Senate.

A. R. 664.
Ant. C. 88.
He causes Marius, Sulpicius, and ten other Senators to be declared enemies of the publick.
Valer.
Max. III.
8.

Appian.

To

A. R. 664.
Ant. C. 88.
*Sulpicius is
taken and
killed.*

To execute this bloody resolution, Sylla dispatched soldiers in pursuit of those he had just caused to be condemned. Sulpicius soon fell into their hands, having been discovered by one of his slaves. The head of that unfortunate Tribune was brought to Rome, and set up on the Tribunal of harangues; a sad presage, says Velleius, of the proscription, that followed soon after. For the rest, Sylla on this occasion did an act of justice. As in the decree he published to notify the resolution of the Senate, he had promised liberty to such slaves, as should discover any of the persons nominated in it, the traitor who had delivered up Sulpicius was declared free: but immediately, with the hat, the symbol of liberty, and the reward of his crime, he was, by Sylla's order, thrown down the Tarpejan rock.

*Flight of
Marius
Plut. in
Mar.*

As to Marius, the circumstances of his flight would supply matter for a very entertaining story. On quitting Rome, all who accompanied him, having dispersed, he retired with his son to a country-house which he had near Lanuvium. His design was, to gain the coast, and to quit Italy. But, as he had no provisions, he sent his son to an estate of his father-in-law Scævola's, which was in the neighbourhood, in order that he might get there all that was necessary for the voyage. Whilst young Marius was making his preparations, the night passed; and it being Light, horsemen were perceived afar off, who suspecting an house so nearly allied to Marius, were advancing thither to search it. But Scævola's farmer or steward, as faithful as his master was generous, hid the fugitive in a waggon full of beans; and driving it towards Rome, passed through those, who were seeking

ing Marius, and suffered him to go on without the least suspicion of the fact. In this manner young Marius entered the city, and the very house of his wife, where, having provided himself with every thing he wanted, he happily quitted Rome: and with regard only to himself, got to the sea, embarked, and arrived in Africa.

A. R. 664.
Ant. C. 88.

His father was not so fortunate. From his first place of retreat, where he could not remain long undiscovered, he went to Ostia; and there finding a vessel, which one of his friends had provided, he went on board with Granius, his son-in-law. This bark seems to have been a very small one, and perhaps was a kind of packet-boat*, with which Marius coasted along the shore, having at first a fair wind. But the wind soon freshening, the sea became tempestuous; and the mariners finding it difficult to work the vessel, and apprehending it could not resist the storm, resolved to land. Marius forbade it, because they were near Terracina, where he had a powerful enemy, called Geminius. In a word, the bad weather not ceasing, and Marius besides being violently sea-sick, which is common with those not much accustomed to that element, he was obliged to give way to necessity, and was landed with all his company.

* *Plutarch*
calls it
πορθημενον.

They did not know what to do, nor whither to turn themselves. Every thing was against them: the land, where they apprehended being surprized by the enemy; the sea, because it continued stormy. To meet any body, was matter of dread; and not to do so, was to want an absolutely necessary aid; for their provisions were exhausted, and they began to suffer

A. R. 664.
 Ant. C. 53.

from hunger. In this distress, they perceived some shepherds, to whom they went to ask some relief. But those poor people had nothing to give them; only knowing Marius, they advised him to fly as soon as possible, because they had seen horsemen a little before in quest of him. He therefore quitted the high road, and went into a thick wood, where he passed the night very indifferently, and the more so, as those that were with him were tormented with hunger, and in consequence much out of humour. As for him, though weak, and exhausted with want and fatigue, he had still spirit enough to encourage others. He exhorted the companions of his flight not to renounce his last remaining hope, for which he reserved himself: that was a seventh Consulship, which he pretended the Fates had certainly decreed him. And on this occasion he related to them a fact, or a fable, better adapted than the best reasons to inspire confidence in superstitious minds.

He told them, that when he was a child, he saw an eagle's nest falling, and caught it in the skirts of his robe; that there were young eagles in it: and that his father and mother having consulted the Augers upon that event, which seemed a prodigy to them, they were answered, that their son should be the most illustrious of mankind, and should possess the supreme authority seven times. However this fact may be, of which the naturalists contest the possibility, affirming that eagles never breed more than two young ones at a time, or three at most, we know what to conclude in respect to such pretended omens, the baits of impostors, and amusement of fools. But Marius had great faith in them, and it is certain, that in his

his flight, and greatest extremities, he often spoke of the seventh Consulship, to which he was destined by the gods. A. C. 664.
Ant. C. 88.

Whilst he wandered with his troops of fugitives upon the sea-side, not being far from Minturnæ, a place situated at the mouth of the Liris*; they perceived a troop of horsemen* Garigli- coming towards them. At the same time cast- anc. ing their eyes towards the sea, they saw two merchant-ships, their only resource in so extreme a danger. Every one made the best of their way towards the sea, threw themselves into it, and endeavoured to gain the two vessels by swimming. Granius with some others got to one of those ships, and in it to the Isle of Ænaria‖. Marius was old and heavy: and ‖ Ischia. it was not without great difficulty, that two slaves kept him above water to the other vessel, into which he was received. In the mean time the horsemen arrived on the shore, and called out to the mariners, either to land Marius, or throw him over-board, and go on where they pleased. Marius weeping, implored the pity of the masters of the ship, who, after some deliberation, much perplexed and uncertain how to act, at length, moved by the tears of so illustrious a suppliant, answered the horsemen, that they would not deliver up Marius; upon which they retired in a great rage.

Marius believed himself out of danger. He did not know that he was destined to suffer more cruel difficulties than he had hitherto experienced, and to have a nearer view of death. Accordingly the generosity of those, who had given him an asylum in their ship, was not of long duration: they were seized with fear, not having approached the land, cast anchor at the

A. R. 66+
Ant. C. 83.

mouth of the Liris. They then proposed landing to him, in order to make a short repose after such long fatigues. Marius, who distrusted nothing, consented to it. He was carried ashore to a place where there was grass. But whilst he continued there at ease, without any thoughts of impending misfortune, he saw the ship weigh anchor on a sudden, and set sail. Those merchants like the generality of mankind, were neither wicked enough to do ill, nor good enough to do well, at the hazard of danger. They had been ashamed to deliver up Marius, but they did not believe it safe to preserve him.

In what a deplorable state was Marius, when he saw himself upon the shore alone, without aid, without defence, and abandoned by all the world! He however did not abandon himself; he got up; and as the Liris, which in that place overflows the lands, forms marshes, with incredible fatigue he crossed ditches full of water, and muddy grounds, and at length came to a poor wood-cleaver's cottage. He threw himself at his feet, and conjured him to save a man, who, if he escaped danger, would reward him beyond his hopes. The peasant, whether he knew him, or was struck with the loftiness and majesty of his appearance, which his misfortunes had not effaced, answered, that if he only wanted rest, he might find it in his cottage; but if he fled from enemies, he would shew him a safer retreat. Marius having accepted the last offer, the man conducted him to a hollow place near a marsh, where he covered him with leaves, reeds, and rushes.

May I be allowed here to desire the reader to consider Marius attentively in the deplorable state we see him at this moment? What might then

then be his thoughts? How much ought he to have abhorred a fatal ambition, that from the height of greatness and glory, had plunged him into an abyss of misery, below the condition of the meanest of mankind? And what a lesson is this to those, who are never contented with their condition, and who imagine they want all things, when a single object is wanting to their insatiable avidity.

A. R. 664.
Ant. C. 88.

Marius had not leisure to entertain himself long with such sad reflexions. For he soon heard a great noise on the side next the cottage. It was made by horsemen sent by Geminus of Terracina, his enemy, who having met the wood-man, questioned, pressed, and menaced him for concealing an enemy of the publick, condemned to die by the Roman Senate. Marius had no resource left. He quitted his retreat, undressed himself, and plunged into the black and muddy water of the marsh. That dirty asylum could not conceal him. His pursuers ran to him, and having drawn him out of the water naked and all covered with mud, they put a cord about his neck, and dragged him immediately to Minturnæ, where they delivered him to the magistrates. For an order was arrived in all the cities of Italy, to seize and kill him, wherever he should be found.

However, the magistrates of Minturnæ resolved previously to deliberate, and left their prisoner in the house of a woman, called Fannia, and who long had reasons to owe him no good will. The thing was as follows. Fannia having been separated from her husband Titinius, demanded the restitution of her portion. Titinius refused to restore it upon account of her bad conduct: and that was matter of fact.

A. R. 664. The affair was carried to Rome and brought
 A.D. C. 88. before Marius, then Consul for the sixth time. He examined into the merits of the cause, and found that Titinius knew the character and loose conduct of his wife before he married her, which he had however done for the sake of her fortune. Marius in consequence equally disliking both, sentenced the husband to make restitution of the portion, and laid a small, but disgraceful, fine upon the wife. Fannia however acted with generosity in the occasion Marius had for her aid. She served him with all imaginable zeal, and even endeavoured to console and encourage him. He answered, that he had great hopes, and those in effect of an omen, so puerile and ridiculous, that it is not possible to read it without feeling shame and pity for human stupidity. He told her, that as he was bringing to her house, an ass came out of it running, and having stood before him, looked on him in a manner, that expressed gaiety, then brayed in a joyous tone, and afterwards leaping and prancing ran by him to drink at a spring just by. Thus the gaiety of an ass's motions encouraged a person who had been six times Consul: and he farther inferred, as the animal on quitting him went to seek water, that it was by water the gods intended he should be preserved; and that he should pass the sea to refuge himself from the dangers that threatened his life. Full of confidence in effect of this fine reasoning, he desired to repose, and having laid himself upon a bed, he caused the door where he was to be shut.

The deliberations of the Magistrates and Senate of Minturnæ had not been long, and they had resolved to obey. But not a single citizen

zen could be found, who would charge himself A. R. 664.
Ant. C. 88. with that odious execution. A stranger, a Gaul or Cimber by birth, was sent to kill Marius, and entered the chamber sword in hand. The bed, on which Marius lay, was placed in a very dark nook. From the midst of that obscurity he cast a fierce look on the Barbarian, his eyes seeming to flash with fire, and at the same time cried out to him with a terrible voice: *Wretch, dare you kill C. Marius?* This was like a stroke of thunder to the soldier, who immediately fled, throwing down his sword, and crying out, *I cannot kill Marius.*

This example not only astonished, but moved the people of Minturnæ with compassion. They reproached themselves with having been more barbarous than that Barbarian, and with having been guilty of cruelty and ingratitude against the preserver of Italy, whom it was even shameful not to defend. *Let him escape,* said they, *let him escape, and fulfill elsewhere his unhappy destiny. Alas! we have but too much reason to pray the gods to forgive us the involuntary fault we commit, in sending Marius away from our city without defence and assistance.* They entered the house where he was in throngs, and surrounded and conducted him to the sea. Every one was eager to express his zeal, by carrying to the vessel appointed for him the necessary provisions. But one obstacle retarded their march, and made them lose time. Upon the way between the city and the sea was a wood consecrated to the nymph Marica, in respect to which they observed this superstitious custom, never to carry any thing out of it that had once been carried in. In consequence it was necessary to take a great compass, which

A. R. 66.
Ant. C. 58.

their impatience supported with difficulty. At length an old man having cried out, that every way was good, and allowed by the gods for saving Marius, he ventured first to cross the wood, and was followed by all the rest. Every thing was soon ready, and Marius embarked in a very small vessel, in the midst of the vows of the Minternenses, who lifted up their hands to heaven, and implored the gods to take that great man under their protection. Afterwards, when he returned to Italy, he caused this whole adventure to be painted, and placed the picture in the temple of Marica.

* *Nouv. col-
léd Monte
di Sen
Giuliano,
or di Tra-
pani.*

§ *Nouv. col-
léd l'île des
Grecs, or
di Zanti.*

From Minturnæ Marius went to the Isle of Ænaria, where he rejoined Granius. From thence they both took the route of Africa: but as they were in want of water, they were obliged to anchor in Sicily on the the side of * Mount Eryx. Ill-fortune pursued our fugitive every where. The Quæstor of the province, happening to be in those parts, fell upon Marius's people, who landed to take in water, killed eighteen of them, and was very near taking Marius himself. This obliged Marius to reembark as soon as possible, and to steer for the Isle of § Meninx, where for the first time he received news of his son. He heard, that having escaped with Cethegus, one of the twelve included in the decree of the Senate, he had retired to the court of Hiempsal, who reigned over part of Numidia: that Prince was probably one of Masinissa's posterity, and was indebted for the states he possessed to Marius, who had established either himself or his father in them, after the defeat and taking of Jugurtha. This gave young Marius reason to hope, that he should find an assured asylum near the person of that Numidian: and old
Marius

Marius also a little encouraged by the same thought, ventured to remove from the Island of Meninx into the province of Carthage.

A. R. 664.
Ant. R. 88.

The Roman magistrate, who commanded in that province, never had any particular concern with Marius, nor received either good or bad from him. And as the man was in a state of indifference with respect to him, it seemed that humanity alone and natural compassion ought to move him in regard to the fate of so great and so illustrious a person. But it is but too common to despise the unfortunate. Marius had scarce landed, when one of the Prætor's officers came to him, and said in a menacing tone, *The Prætor Sextilius forbids you to set foot in his province. If you do not comply with his orders, he declares to you, that he is resolved to execute the decree of the Senate, and to treat you as an enemy of the publick.* Marius was seized in such a manner with surprize, indignation and grief, that he continued very long without saying any thing, with his eyes fixed on the person, who brought him this message. On the officer's pressing him, and asking what answer he should carry back to the Prætor; Go, said he, *tell him who sent you, that you have seen Marius a fugitive, and sitting upon the ruins of Carthage.* That answer was an excellent lesson upon the instability of human things; uniting under the same point of view the destruction of one of the most powerful cities of the world, and the ruined fortune of the first of the Romans. Marius made no haste to execute the Prætor's order: and he was still about Carthage, when his son joined him, who had been obliged to fly from Hiempfal's dominions.

For

A. R. 664.
Ant. C. 83.

For that Prince, more sensible to the fear of a present evil, than to gratitude for a past benefit, was perplexed about his suppliant. He rendered him honours, but kept him against his will, and prevented him from quitting his kingdom. That conduct gave the Roman great disquiet; who plainly saw, that the King's pretexts for detaining him, had nothing sincere in them, and betokened no good to him. To extricate himself, he took advantage of an occasion that offered, without his having conceived any thoughts of cultivating it. He was young, and well made. The danger that threatened him, moved one of the King's mistresses with compassion: and soon, as the transition is very easy, she proceeded from pity to love. Marius at first rejected her with disdain. But, when on the one side he perceived that he had no hopes of flight but by her means, and on the other, that the sentiments of that woman had something much above a foolish and blind passion, he repoted a confidence in her, and found the good effects of it. For by her assistance, himself and his friends escaped out of the hands of a Prince, to whom a commodious treachery would perhaps not have cost much.

He rejoined his father, as I have said, near Carthage; and it was no doubt a great joy both to the father and son, to meet after a separation attended with so many dangers. As they were walking along the coast, Marius saw two scorpions fighting. He valued himself upon his skill in the pretended art of divination. He judged this a bad omen, and concluded from it that they were threatened with some danger: as if common sense alone, without the interposition of the scorpions, did not suffice to inform him

him, that they had cause to fear both from the timorous policy of Sextilius, and the resentment of Hiempsal. In consequence they threw themselves into a fishing-boat, which carried them to the isle of * Cercina. And they set out in time. For they had scarce got on board, when they saw some Numidian horse appear, sent in pursuit of young Marius by Hiempsal. This was not the least danger they sustained: but it was the last. They passed the remainder of the winter quietly enough in the islands of the African sea, waiting some favourable event, that might enable them to return to Italy.

A. R. 664.
Ant. C. 88.

* Cercare.

Sylla in the mean time regulated every thing at Rome with abundance of moderation. He perceived, that his conduct in respect to Marius had displeased many of the Senators, and all the People in general. Instead of being enraged at it, he chose to take pains for conciliating favour, by a popular and very mild conduct. On holding the Assemblies for the election of the Magistrates for the ensuing year, he suffered both his nephew Nonius and Ser. Sulpicius, whom he supported with his recommendation, to undergo a repulse. He even said on that occasion, that he was glad to see the people use the liberty he had restored to them. Through the same spirit of moderation, he did not prevent L. Cornelius Cinna from being elected Consul, who was of the opposite faction to his, though a patrician, and his own relation. He only took the precaution to carry him to the Capitol, and there to make him take an oath, that he would act nothing contrary to his interests. Cinna took the oath prescribed him in the presence of many witnesses; and holding a stone in his hand, he implored Jupiter,

Sylla's moderation
He suffers Cinna to be elected Consul.
Appian.
Plut. in Syll.

A. R. 664.
Ant. C. 83.

Jupiter, if he failed in his engagements, to drive him out of the city, as he threw that stone out of his hand. It is surprising that Sylla could repose any confidence in the oaths of an ambitious man. He however did not so entirely trust in them, as not to use the farther precaution of giving him Cn. Octavius for colleague, a man of worth, and a lover of peace and good order, but too mild to oppose one of his violent character. Sylla had soon reason to repent these measures: and if any thing can palliate the horror of the cruelties he afterwards committed, it is the bad success of the lenity with which he acted on the present occasion.

*Marius's
party re-
sume
courage.
The Consul
Pompeius
is killed by
his soldiers.*

Accordingly as soon as his troops had quitted Rome to wait for him in Campania, and whilst he was still Consul, the partisans of Marius began to stir for the recall of the exiles: and the first step they took to effect it, was, to lay snares for the lives of the Consuls. Sylla had least to fear, having an army that might be employed for his defence, even after the expiration of his Consulship. Pompeius conceived he had obtained a like security, by causing the command of the troops at Picenum to be given him, at the head of which then was Cn. Pompeius Strabo, in quality of Proconsul finally to reinstate the tranquillity of the country. But the Consul thereby only hastened his death.

Strabo at first feigned to receive him with respect, when he came to take upon him the command of the army, and retired, as being only a private person. But the next day a sedition, excited by the ambitious Proconsul, delivered him from his competitor: and for the first time (the times we are now come to abound with crimes unheard of before) a roman army imbrews its hands in the blood of their Consul. Strabo
having

having afterwards shewn himself to the soldiers, affected abundance of anger: but he was soon appeased: his sudden reconciliation with the murderers discovered him; and all Historians ascribe the Consul's violent death to him, who was besides his near relation. The Senate, which in such perilous times as these, had less power than the soldiers, was obliged to let this crime pass with impunity. Sylla less intent upon avenging his Colleague's death, than providing for his own security, assembled his friends, and prevailed upon them to keep guard round his house and person, as long as he should be obliged to continue in the city: and as soon as it was possible he quitted it, and went into Campania to put himself at the head of his army.

A. R. 664.
Ant. C. 88.

CN. OCTAVIUS.

L. CORNELIUS CINNA.

A. R. 665.
Ant. C. 87.

Cinna was hardly in office when he shewed how much Sylla had been in the wrong to place any confidence in him, and to believe him capable of having any regard to his oath. He had nothing so much at heart as to press him to set out; alledging for his reason the necessity of putting a stop to the progress of Mithridates; but in reality to rid himself of such an inspector in order to be at full liberty for the execution of his own schemes. Sylla for the same reason was in no haste. The Consul, to put an end to his delays, contrived to have him accused by the Tribune M. Virgilius. Those who were employed in the service of the Commonwealth, were exempted by a law from this kind of prosecutions. Sylla accordingly leaving both the

Cinna to force Sylla to quit Italy, causes him to be accused by a Tribune of the People.
Dio apud Vales.
Plut. in Syll.

Consul

A. R. 665.
Ant. C. 87.

*He la-
bours the
recall of
Marius.*

** Three
hundred
thousand
crowns.*

*To gain his
point he
undertakes
to mingle
the new
citizens
with the
ancient
Tribes.
Appian.*

*Sedition on
that head.*

Consul and Tribune to themselves, put to sea, and arrived in Greece. I shall give an account of his exploits against Mithridates in the sequel.

Cinna no sooner saw himself disengaged from the sole obstacle that checked him, than he began to labour the recall of Marius. His turbulent and restless spirit could not endure repose and tranquillity. Besides which, a frantick ambition made him desirous of rendering himself master of the Commonwealth. And lastly, with these motives, united three hundred * talents, which were given him by the partisans of Marius. It is from Appian we have this last fact, who a little before had observed, that very rich persons, of both Sexes, interested themselves for that illustrious fugitive.

Cinna then took his cause in hand, and seemed at the same time to assume his spirit. For he took care to disguise his aim, and to proceed to his end by indirect means. He did not manifest at first his design to reinstate the exiles; but he undertook to revive the law passed by the Tribune Sulpicius, for introducing the new citizens into the old Tribes, in all its force. Upon this signal an infinite multitude of those new citizens flew to the city; and Rome again became the scene of a furious division; the old citizens opposing with no less vigour than they saw themselves attacked. Each of the parties had a Consul at its head; and both took up arms. Cinna as he was the most audacious, employed them first.

The majority of the Tribunes of the People opposed the law. There was no going farther without recourse to violence. Accordingly that moment swords were seen glittering, and a multitude

titude of the seditious with Cinna, at the head of them, fell upon the opposing magistrates to drive them from the Tribunal. Octavius then, round whom the old citizens, and all that were for the publick tranquillity, had ranged themselves in arms, entered the forum, attacked the factious, divided them into two bodies, and dispersed them: then, out of respect for the consular dignity in Cinna, and not inclining to come to blows with his Colleague, he turned towards the temple of Castor. But those who accompanied him, did not imitate his timorous circumspection. They pushed their advantage, killed a great number of the adversaries, and drove the others fighting to the gates of the city. Cinna, who was superior in number, amazed to see himself overcome, had recourse to the last refuge of the desperate. He called in the slaves to his aid upon the promise of liberty. But that was ineffectual; nobody joined him, and he was obliged to abandon the city, and retire into Campania. The battle had been very bloody. Cicero affirms, that the forum swam with the blood of the citizens, and was quite filled with heaps of dead bodies: and Plutarch makes the number of those only, who perished on Cinna's side, amount to ten thousand.

A. R. 66.
 Ant. C. 87.

*Cinna is
 driven out
 of the city.*

Cic. in
 Catil. III.
 14. & pro
 Sect. 77.

Plut. in
 Sertor.

*He had
 Sertorius
 with him*

He carried away some Senators with him, of whom Sertorius was undoubtedly the most illustrious. Unhappy circumstance, for that great man had thrown him into this party. His birth itself seemed to incline him to it: and as a new man, in a division between the Nobility and the People, it was natural for him to attach himself to the Plebeian faction. Besides which, we have observed that he had served

ved

league, a man of worth, and a lover of peace and good order, but too mild to oppose one of his violent character. Sylla had soon reason to repent these measures: and if any thing can palliate the horror of the cruelties he afterwards committed, it is the bad success of the lenity with which he acted on the present occasion.

*Marius's
party re-
sume
courage.
The Consul
Pompeius
is killed by
his soldiers.*

Accordingly as soon as his troops had quitted Rome to wait for him in Campania, and whilst he was still Consul, the partisans of Marius began to stir for the recall of the exiles: and the first step they took to effect it, was, to lay snares for the lives of the Consuls. Sylla had least to fear, having an army that might be employed for his defence, even after the expiration of his Consulship. Pompeius conceived he had obtained a like security, by causing the command of the troops at Picenum to be given him, at the head of which then was Cn. Pompeius Strabo, in quality of Proconsul finally to reinstate the tranquillity of the country. But the Consul thereby only hastened his death.

Strabo at first feigned to receive him with respect, when he came to take upon him the command of the army, and retired, as being only a private person. But the next day a sedition, excited by the ambitious Proconsul, delivered him from his competitor: and for the first time (the times we are now come to abound with crimes unheard of before) a roman army imbrews its hands in the blood of their Consul. Strabo
having

crime pass with impunity. Sylla less intent upon avenging his Colleague's death, than providing for his own security, assembled his friends, and prevailed upon them to keep guard round his house and person, as long as he should be obliged to continue in the city: and as soon as it was possible he quitted it, and went into Campania to put himself at the head of his army.

CN. OCTAVIUS.

L. CORNELIUS CINNA.

A. R. 665.
Ant. C. 87.

Cinna was hardly in office when he shewed how much Sylla had been in the wrong to place any confidence in him, and to believe him capable of having any regard to his oath. He had nothing so much at heart as to press him to set out; alledging for his reason the necessity of putting a stop to the progress of Mithridates; but in reality to rid himself of such an inspector in order to be at full liberty for the execution of his own schemes. Sylla for the same reason was in no haste. The Consul, to put an end to his delays, contrived to have him accused by the Tribune M. Virgilius. Those who were employed in the service of the Commonwealth, were exempted by a law from this kind of prosecutions. Sylla accordingly leaving both the

Cinna to force Sylla to quit Italy, causes him to be accused by a Tribune of the People.
Dio apud Vales.
Plut. in Syll.
Consul

A. R. 865.
Ant. C. 87.

Consul and Tribune to themselves, put to sea, and arrived in Greece. I shall give an account of his exploits against Mithridates in the sequel.

He labours the recall of Marius.

Cinna no sooner saw himself disengaged from the sole obstacle that checked him, than he began to labour the recall of Marius. His turbulent and restless spirit could not endure repose and tranquillity. Besides which, a frantick ambition made him desirous of rendering himself master of the Commonwealth. And lastly, with these motives, united three hundred * talents, which were given him by the partisans of Marius. It is from Appian we have this last fact, who a little before had observed, that very rich persons, of both Sexes, interested themselves for that illustrious fugitive.

* Three hundred thousand crowns.

To gain his point he undertakes to mingle the new citizens with the ancient Tribes.
Appian.

Cinna then took his cause in hand, and seemed at the same time to assume his spirit. For he took care to disguise his aim, and to proceed to his end by indirect means. He did not manifest at first his design to reinstate the exiles; but he undertook to revive the law passed by the Tribune Sulpicius, for introducing the new citizens into the old Tribes, in all its force. Upon this signal an infinite multitude of those new citizens flew to the city; and Rome again became the scene of a furious division; the old citizens opposing with no less vigour than they saw themselves attacked. Each of the parties had a Consul at its head; and both took up arms. Cinna as he was the most audacious, employed them first.

Sedition on that head.

The majority of the Tribunes of the People opposed the law. There was no going farther without recourse to violence. Accordingly that moment swords were seen glittering, and a multitude

titude of the seditious with Cinna, at the head
 of them, fell upon the opposing magistrates
 to drive them from the Tribunal. Octavius
 then, round whom the old citizens, and all that
 were for the publick tranquility, had ranged
 themselves in arms, entered the forum, attacked
 the factious, divided them into two bodies, and
 dispersed them: then, out of respect for the con-
 sular dignity in Cinna, and not inclining to
 come to blows with his Colleague, he turned to-
 wards the temple of Castor. But those who ac-
 companied him, did not imitate his timorous
 circumspection. They pushed their advantage,
 killed a great number of the adversaries, and
 drove the others fighting to the gates of the
 city. Cinna, who was superior in number, ama-
 zed to see himself overcome, had recourse to
 the last refuge of the desperate. He called in
 the slaves to his aid upon the promise of liberty.
 But that was ineffectual; nobody joined him,
 and he was obliged to abandon the city, and
 retire into Campania. The battle had been
 very bloody. Cicero affirms, that the forum
 swam with the blood of the citizens, and was
 quite filled with heaps of dead bodies: and
 Plutarch makes the number of those only, who
 perished on Cinna's side, amount to ten thou-
 sand.

A. R. 66;†
 Ant. C. 87.

*Cinna is
 driven out
 of the city.*

Cic. in
 Catil. III.
 14. & pro
 Sect. 77.

Plut. in
 Sertor.

*He had
 Sertorius
 with him*

He carried away some Senators with him,
 of whom Sertorius was undoubtedly the most
 illustrious. Unhappy circumstances for that
 great man had thrown him into this party.
 His birth itself seemed to incline him to it: and
 as a new man, in a division between the No-
 bility and the People, it was natural for him
 to attach himself to the Plebeian faction. Be-
 sides which, we have observed that he had ser-
 ved

A. R. 665.
Ant. C. 87.

ved under Marius in the war with the Cimbri, and had received from him many proofs of his esteem; and that was a farther engagement. But what finally determined him, was, that having stood for the Tribuneship, Sylla had caused him to be excluded. Freinshemius conjectures with great appearance of reason, that besides the ties between Sertorius and Marius, Sylla, who was for depressing the Tribunitian power, conceived it contrary to his views to suffer that office to be conferred on a man of bravery, and one who in his youth had acquired great reputation for the talent of speaking. It was this combination of circumstances that drew Sertorius into the unfortunate party, and in consequence made his whole life a series of disgraces. His misfortunes did not in the least diminish his glory. But had it not been for that unfortunate engagement, he had talents, greatness of mind, and military abilities capable of making him the first person of the Commonwealth; whereas he was obliged, during his whole life, to employ so many virtues against his country, and at last to perish miserably by the treachery of his friends. A great lesson, that ought to make persons very cautious in their first steps, which are often taken inconsiderately enough in youth, and afterwards give the bias to the whole series of life.

*Cinna is
deprived of
the Consul-
ship, and
Merula
chosen in
his stead.*

The Senate proceeded juridically against Cinna, and declared the office of Consul, which he occupied, void as well by desertion, as for the crime of having called in the slaves to liberty; an (a) affront Cinna well deserved; but a

(a) *Hæc injuria homine quàm exemplo dignior fuit. Vell.*
II. 20.

precedent, that might have very pernicious effects. They substituted to him L. Cornelius Merula, who was the Priest of Jupiter, *Flamen Dialis*.

A. R. 665^o
Ant. C. 87^o

Cinna driven in this manner to extremities, *Cinna* had no resource but in the soldiery. As the peace of Italy was not entirely re-established, and the Samnites continued still in arms, the Romans had also different armies on several sides, and one actually in Campania under the command of Ap. Claudius. *Cinna* having gained the principal officers of that army, entered the camp; and the soldiers having assembled around him, he dismissed his Lictors, as being only now a private person. At the same time shedding tears in abundance, he addressed himself thus to the multitude: *Dear fellow citizens, I received from you the first dignity of the commonwealth, and the Senate have deprived me of it without your consent. It is not however my private disgraces, that affect me most. I lament your violated rights, your annihilated power. For who from henceforth will give themselves the trouble to sollicit the suffrages of the Tribes? Who will take pains to conciliate your favour? And how can you be considered as arbiters of elections, as dispensers of employments and dignities if you cannot secure the enjoyment of your gifts to those you have invested with them, and if your creatures are liable to be deprived without your participation of what you alone have conferred.* He added many other things to the same effect, concluding his discourse with descending from the Tribunal, tearing his robes, and throwing himself at the feet of the soldiers. All of them, moved with such a sight, raised him up, made him re-ascend the Tribunal, desired

D

him

A. R. 665. him to recall his Licitors, and protested, that
 AEL. C. 87. they would persist in acknowledging him for Consul. At the same time the Officers, whom he had gained, advanced, and first took the oath to him as to their General, and then made the troops under their respective commands do the same.

*He interests
 the People
 of Italy in
 his cause.*

This sufficed for putting Cinna into a condition to fear nothing. But he was besides for making himself formidable to his adversaries, and for resuming the authority of the government over them, of which they had taken possession. Accordingly to augment his party, he made a tour to all the cities of Italy, representing to the new citizens, that it was their quarrel he had sustained, and that he had been the victim of his zeal for their interests. He was without doubt heard favourably: he found both men and money in abundance: and he Vell. II. had at his command three hundred cohorts or
 20. thirty legions, formed out of the different states of Italy: a formidable power, which it is not to be believed that he assembled in one body of an army, but which may give us an idea of the greatness of his strength, and what reasons those had to tremble, who had driven him out of Rome.

*Perplexity
 of the Con-
 suls.*

Octavius and Merula in effect thought proper to fortify the city, and to put it into a state of defence. At the same time, as they had few troops about them, they wrote on all sides to call in the armies, that still acknowledged the authority of the Senate to the assistance of their country. But the generals of two of the strongest bodies of troops, from which they could hope assistance, both failed them from different reasons. Metellus Pius, who

who was full of good will, was too far off, and sufficiently employed by the Samnites.

A. R. 665.
Ant. C. 87.

Pompeius Strabo, who might have been at hand to aid the Consuls effectually, observed a dubious conduct, and gave Cinna time to strengthen himself; with the view of making himself necessary, and discontented from not having obtained a second Consulship as he desired.

Liv. Epist.
Vell. II.
21.

Marius in the mean time, who till then had continued in Africa, took the advantage of a conjuncture so much in his favour. He re-passed the sea, and landed at a port in Tuscany with about a thousand men, partly Moorish horse, and partly Italian adventurers, whom his name and misfortunes like his own, had induced to follow him. He wore in his aspect and his whole person an air of dejection, that suited his condition. And the compassion that the sight of him inspired, joined with his great reputation, soon enabled him to assemble six thousand men; and the more easily, as he refused none that offered themselves, even to the slaves to whom he gave liberty. He then sent to offer Cinna his service; and the latter, who had affected to have no intelligence with him, though in reality they were agreed in every thing, assembled the Council of war to deliberate upon Marius's proposal.

Marius returns to Italy, and is received by Cinna.
Appian.
Plut. in Mar & Syll. & Sertor.

No body hesitated upon accepting his offers. Only Sertorius was of a contrary opinion, whether he apprehended being eclipsed by the glory of so great a warrior, or all benevolent as he was, he dreaded the terrible excesses, to which revenge might carry a man naturally cruel, and exasperated by misfortune. He represented, that as their enterprize was so far

A. R. 665.
Ant. C. 87.

advanced, as in a manner to assure them of overcoming, they had no occasion for Marius, and that however, if he joined them, he would engross the whole glory of the Success to himself. That besides, his jealous and umbragious character was known, which, it was more than possible, would make those repent their favour, who should share authority with him. The opposition of Sertorius compelled Cinna to discover himself. He owned, that the reasons alledged were of weight: but he added, that he was ashamed to refuse Marius, after having called him in himself. *Why did not you say so at first?* Resumed Sertorius. *If you invited him; the affair is at an end; we have no occasion to deliberate.* Marius was accordingly received: and Cinna declared him Proconsul, and was for giving him the Fasces and Lictors. But he refused them; saying, that such honours did not become the fortune of an exile. And in order to render himself an object of pity, he assumed an afflicted aspect, and dejected manners, through which however it was easy to discern an height of courage irritated, but not depressed, by the calamities he had suffered.

*Cinna and
Marius
march
against
Rome.*

It was resolved in the Council to attack Rome. Sylla had set the example: and Marius did not pique himself upon being more delicate than his enemy in the point of love for his country. Cinna and he assured themselves of succeeding without difficulty. Besides their great strength, the cold and slow circumspection of Octavius gave them a great superiority. It is the fate of worthy persons to be almost always attacked with advantage; because probity denies them many resources, which their adversaries make

make no scruple to employ. Octavius wanted neither fortitude, nor ability. But he rigidly adhered to the observation of the Laws; and when some body advised him to arm the slaves, and engage them by the hope of liberty in the defence of the city, he replied, "That he would not violate the Laws by giving slaves the (a) Rights of Roman citizens, whilst out of respect for them, he deprived Marius of those Rights."

The contrary party had a quite different way of thinking. They spared no means for strengthening themselves: and Cinna besieged Rome with four armies, which were posted, one with Marius at its head below the city on the side next the sea, another, commanded by Sertorius, above; Cinna himself, and Carbo, who will soon have a great part hereafter in all these troubles, took up their quarters between those of Marius and Sertorius. Their first design was to reduce the city by famine; which it was easy to effect, as they were masters of the river. Their parties scoured the country. They had light ships, which cruized upon the coasts: and in that manner they prevented any provisions from being brought into the besieged. Marius by intelligence even surprised Ostia at the mouth of the Tiber, and gave up that unfortunate place, to be plundered at the discretion of the troops.

I now proceed to the slow movements of Pompeius Strabo in favour of the Consuls and Senate. By a treacherous connivance, as I have said before, he had given Cinna time to acquire

(a) Slaves made free by the Romans became Roman citizens themselves.

Pompeius Strabo comes at length to the aid of Rome. Battle, in which one brother kills another.

A. R. 665.
Ant. C. 87.

Tac. Hist.
III. 51.
Liv. Epit.
Oros. V.
19.

formidable forces, and did not come to the aid of his country till it was reduced to extremities. And if we may believe Orosius, before he declared on the side of the Senate, he had offered himself to Cinna and Marius, and had been rejected. He fought a battle at the gates of Rome, which was not decisive, and of which all that we know worthy of notice is, that two brothers, who happened to serve in the opposite armies, meeting, during the heat of the battle, engaged without knowing each other. He who was on Pompey's side having killed the other, knew him when he was taking his spoils. His grief rose to despair, and after the action, having erected a funeral pile, upon which he placed the dead body, he got upon it himself, fell upon the same sword with which he had killed his brother, and having ordered the fire to be lighted, in that manner mingled his ashes with those of the deceased. Horrid event! which made both armies groan, whilst they were committing crimes of almost as deep a dye.

The Samnites join Cinna's party.

The Consuls would not have thought themselves sufficiently strong with the reinforcement of Pompey's troops, though they could even have relied upon the zeal and fidelity of their Leader. They therefore sought to procure other aid. Metellus Pius, who was entirely devoted to the Senate, as I have said already, was actually making war against the Samnites. They sent him orders to treat with that People, and to offer them the freedom of Rome. They were in hopes of acquiring thereby a double reinforcement, the army of Metellus, which as soon as disengaged, would not fail of coming to the aid of Rome; and even that of the Samnites, who from enemies, would become citizens.

tizens. But the latter full of hatred for the Roman name, and haughty in effect of being solicited, demanded such advantageous conditions for themselves, and so hard and dishonourable for the Romans, that Metellus would not accept them. Marius and Cinna, who were apprized of that negotiation, gave the Samnites *Carte blanche*, and thereby brought them over to their party. Metellus did not fail to advance towards Rome, and to join the army of Octavius.

A. R. 665.
Ant. C. 87.

In the mean time the city was upon the point of being taken by treason. One Ap. Claudius, a legionary Tribune, who had formerly received some service from Marius, delivered up the fort of Janiculum to him, of which he had the guard. Cinna and Marius were in possession of that post, which commanded the city, and was joined to it by a bridge, when Octavius and Pompeius flew thither, and repulsed the enemy.

This was the last service Rome derived from the army of Pompeius. Soon after a contagion spread in it, that destroyed great part of it.

The unexpected death of that General, who was killed with thunder in a dreadful storm, entirely dispersed that army. Nothing is said of it after that event: and it is probable, that the soldiers either dispersed, or even took party amongst Cinna's troops. I must not omit here

Death of Pompeius Strabo, the Publick's hatred of him

the manner, in which the publick expressed their hatred for Pompeius Strabo after his death. He had drawn it upon himself by his unsatiable avarice, unbounded ambition, and especially the criminal indifference, which he had expressed in respect to the dangers, that threatened Rome. Accordingly at the celebration of his

Plut. in Pomp. Jul. Obseq.

A. R. 665.
Ant. C. 87.

funeral, the populace fell upon the bed of state, in which he was carrying to the pile, tore him out of it, and threw his body upon the ground; and after having done it a thousand outrages, they dragged it about the streets with an hook. Pompey the Great, who was beloved by the Roman People, even to adoration, was the son of so detested a father.

Appian.
Plut. in
Mar.

Marius spared no pains to deprive the besieged of all hopes of receiving provision and refreshments: with this view he took all the places in the neighbourhood of Rome, where there were magazines, Antium, Aricia, Lanuvium, and some others. After which, having rejoined Cinna, Sertorius and Carbo, he moved with them to offer the Consul battle. Cn. Octavius had quitted Rome, and kept the field with considerable forces; namely his own troops, those of Metellus Pius, and a third army commanded by P. Crassus, the father of him, whom his riches and power after rendered so famous. It might have been thought, that the Consul, in the state things were, would undoubtedly have accepted the defiance of the enemy. Only a battle gained could save Rome. But at the same time a battle lost would give it up as a prey to violence, plunder, and all the horrors of war. This last consideration, conformable to the mild and somewhat timorous disposition of Octavius, checked him. He did not dare to expose his country to so great a danger, and lost all, by his averfeness to hazard any thing. Desertions became frequent; and scarcity increasing in Rome, began to excite the complaints and murmurs of the multitude; so that the Senate discouraged, and apprehending that the city would either be taken by force, or delivered up
by

Marius offers Octavius battle who dares not accept it.

by treachery, sent deputies to Cinna to treat of <sup>A. R. 665.
Ant. C. 87.</sup> an accommodation.

Cinna stopt them short by asking, whether <sup>Deputies
sent by the
Senate to
Cinna.</sup> those who sent them, acknowledged him Consul. What is surprising enough, they had no instructions upon that head, and returned without so much as opening the negociation. This weak step taken by the Senate had therefore no other effect, than to augment the consternation of those in its interest, and to raise the courage of the partizans of Marius, who were very numerous in the city. Octavius's army diminished every day by desertions; and his credit declined still more. He could neither rely upon most of those, who remained in his camp, nor the soldiers place any confidence in an irresolute General, very tenacious of forms, and always apprehensive of doing too much. As to Metellus, he had abandoned the party, and seeing the superiority Marius had attained, he first retired into Liguria, from whence he soon after went to Africa. The Senate had no other resource left, than to transact with the adversaries upon the gentlest conditions it was possible to obtain. But it was necessary to restore the Consulship to Cinna; and that indispensable preliminary was the highest injustice to Merula, a man of worth, venerable for the eminence of the Priesthood he possessed, and one who undoubtedly was far from deserving the affront of being deposed.

That Consul spared them the perplexity they <sup>Merula ab-
dicates the
Consulship.
Diod apud
Vales.</sup> were under, with respect to him, by sacrificing himself with a generosity worthy of the greatest praises. *I shall be far, said he, from suffering my person and interests to be an obstacle to peace. I received the Consular Fasces by your authority,*
and

A. R. 665. *and to labour for the safety of my country. As*
 Ant. C. 87. *the good of my country now requires, that I should*
lay them down, it is with joy I give my fellow-
citizens that testimony of my love for them, and
of my zeal for extricating them out of danger.
 He afterwards ascended the Tribunal of harangues, and solemnly abdicated his office before the People. Upon that, new deputies were sent to Cinna, with orders to acknowledge him Consul.

New De-
putation
to Cinna.
 Appian.
 Plut. in
 Mar.
 Their instructions were very short. They were charged to demand nothing of Cinna, but an oath to spare the lives of the citizens. He would not condescend to take that oath, and insisted upon their being contented with giving his word, that he would not voluntarily cause the death of any one. We shall see in what manner he kept that promise: but he would not have observed his oath more strictly. He added advice to Octavius, who had re-entered the city: *Let him not venture to appear in publick,* said he to the Deputies, *least against my will some misfortune should befall him.* He gave this audience sitting on his Tribunal, with his Licitors before him, and surrounded with all the train of the Consular dignity. Marius was standing near the Consul's curule chair, affecting, as he had always done since his return, an air of dejection, of which it was easy to discern the hypocrisy, and which suffered marks of profound resentment and sanguinary revenge to escape.

Council
eld by
Marius
and Cinna,
in which
the deaths
of the op-
posite party
is rejoiced.
 Accordingly Marius and Cinna seeing themselves victors, held a great Council with the principal Chiefs of their party, to deliberate upon the manner, in which they should use their victory. We cannot doubt, but Sertorius spoke

spoke in favour of lenity. We shall soon see a proof of that. But he was not master here; and it was concluded, that, without regard to the promises made the Deputies of the Senate they should put all their enemies to the sword; in order that their faction, remaining in the sole possession of the government, might dispose in all things with absolute authority. To ravage the city with horrid slaughter, was what they called reestablishing its peace. Thus Marius, who had imitated Sylla in attacking Rome, and forcing it in arms, was far from imitating his humanity and moderation in respect to the citizens: as it is usual for second examples to rise upon the first in criminal excess.

In the mean time the Senate, who were ignorant of this cruel deliberation, did not delay sending new Deputies to invite Cinna and Marius to enter the city. For the name of Marius was expressly added, because it was very well known, that he was the soul of all these movements, and that Cinna, properly speaking, only lent him his name. Cinna accordingly made his entry, preceded by his Lictors, and surrounded by his guards. But Marius stopt at the gate, saying with an ironical insolence, that exiles had no right to enter the city; and that it was necessary, a new law should abrogate that, by which he had been banished. The Tribes therefore were assembled immediately: but three or four had scarce given their suffrages when Marius, tired with that comedy, entered on a sudden, and gave up Rome to all the horrors of war. All the gates of the city were shut, that nobody might escape: and under pretence of seeking for Marius's enemies, the

A. R. 665.
Ant. C. 87.

Diod. lib.
xxxviii.

Marius and Cinna enter the city, which is abandoned to all the horrors of war.
Plut. in Mar. Ap-
pian.

foldiers

A. R. 665.
Ant. C. 87.

soldiers dispersed themselves into all quarters. In particular, a troop of slaves enfranchised by Marius, and whom he had in a manner made his guard, having received entire permission from him, committed the most horrible excesses. A very great number of citizens were slain, women ravished, and houses plundered. To be rich, was to be an enemy of Marius. In a word, Rome was treated like a city taken by storm.

*Death of
the Consul
Octavius.*

The Consul Octavius was not a witness of these calamities. For he was killed even before the victors entered the city. He had retired to the fort Janiculum with a small number of friends and some troops, who still continued faithful to him. All that were with him exhorted him to fly. But he declared, that being Consul, he would never abandon Rome. I do not know, whether he relied upon the oaths of Marius and Cinna, who had caused him to be assured, that no hurt should be done to him. But it is certain, that he placed great confidence in the predictions of astrologers, who had always promised him good success. For that magistrate, the most moderate and equitable of the Romans, besides being a man firm to the maxims of his ancestors, and who always sustained with haughtiness the rights of the consular dignity, without degrading it by unworthy Compliances that very man had a ridiculous weakness for Astrology and divination; and what much contributed to his ruin, was passing more of his time with impostors and Soothsayers, than with the best heads of the Senate and army.

Marius and Cinna had only given him good words to prevent him from thinking of flight; and

and they dispatched an officer, named Censorinus, with a body of horse to kill him on the Janiculum. Censorinus found him sitting in his curule chair with the ensigns of the Consulship, and his Lictors before him, as if it had been a time of perfect peace. As soon as his friends perceived the horse, they pressed him again to fly. But he did not vouchsafe so much as to rise, and in that manner received death with a constancy, of which the glory is however diminished by an answer of an Astrologer found about him after his death. His head was carried to Cinna, and afterwards set up upon the Tribunal of harangues, no doubt to revenge the like treatment, that had been done by Sylla to the Tribune Sulpicius. The victors continued to make the same kind of Trophies of all the other cruelties they committed, and not a Senator was murdered by their order, but his head was set up on the same Tribunal; inso-much that a place of such respect became a kind of place of execution, and even something more horrid, as the bleeding heads exhibited there, were not those of vile wretches executed for their crimes, but of all that were most illustrious at Rome by their dignities, talents and virtues.

Of this number were the two brothers L. and C. Cæsar, the first of whom had been Consul and Censor, and the second was the person who had disputed the Consulship with Sylla. There was even something unusually atrocious in the death of Lucius: Marius (*a*) out of a

A. R. 665.
Ant. C. 87.

*Death of
the two
brothers,
L. and
C. Cæsar,
and of the
Crassi fa-*

(*a*) Marius iram suam nefariè distrinxit. L. Cæsaris Id enim malorum miserrimæ Consularis & Censorii nobilissimum corpus ignobili sævitia trucidando: & quidem apud seditiosissimi & ab-

jectissimi hominis bustum. tunc reipublicæ deerat, ut Vario Cæsar piaculum cederet. *Val. Max. IX. 2.*

mean

A. R. 665.
Ant. C. 87.

mean barbarity caused him to be tormented in the most cruel manner before the Tomb of the wretched Tribune Q. Varius, who had occasioned so many evils to the State. Nothing was wanting; says Valerius Maximus, to the misfortunes and shame of the Commonwealth but to sacrifice Cæsar to the manes of Varius. C. Cæsar was discovered, and delivered up by the person, in whose house he had sought an asylum, and for whose defence he had formerly employed his eloquence with success in a criminal affair. Such was the gratitude of that villain to his benefactor. Many other illustrious persons also perished miserably. I shall only mention the most considerable, and those of whose deaths we have some particulars.

Liv. Epit.
Plut. in
Crassus.

P. Crassus, after seeing his eldest son killed before his face, thrust himself through with his sword, to avoid being exposed to insults unworthy of his courage and virtue. His second son escaped; and afterwards became the richest, and one of the most powerful of the Romans.

Death of
M. Antonius the
Orator.
Plut. in
Mar. Ap-
pian.

The Orator M. Antonius had found a faithful friend, but one who ruined him by too much zeal and good-will. This was a poor Plebeian, who seeing a guest of that importance in his house, was for entertaining him well. He sent his slave to the tavern with orders to buy the best wine. The feller, who saw the slave taste the wine with more care than usual, desiring to set a very high price upon it, asked him why his master was not contented with the wine he commonly drank. The slave, who thought he was speaking to a friend, discovered the fatal secret; and the perfidious vintner ran immediately to Marius, who was

was then at table, to declare to him, that he had it in his power to put M. Antonius into his hands. The transports of joy, with which Marius received that news, gives horror. He cried out, clapped his hands, and was for going himself to the place, if he had not been stopt by his friends. He therefore determined to send the military Tribune Annius with soldiers, ordering him to bring him the head of M. Antonius that instant. Annius went, and staying below to guard the door, made his soldiers go up stairs. But the sight of Antonius softened their cruel hearts; and the eloquent orator, in so pressing a necessity having employed those refined insinuations, and the pathetic, which he knew well how to adapt, so effectually moved them that not a single man could resolve to lay hands upon him. The Tribune at length who was grown impatient with waiting, went up himself, and saw his soldiers suspended, and in a manner enchanted, holding down their heads and shedding tears, whilst Antonius harangued them. As for himself, who was no less barbarous than him that sent him, he gave no ear to the prayers of so venerable a suppliant, but cut off his head, which he immediately carried to Marius. That mournful present was received with a satisfaction equal to the impatience with which it was expected. Marius embraced the tribune Annius all bloody as he was; he took the head of Antonius out of his hands, and was not afraid of fouling the table, which was considered by the ancients as something sacred, with the blood of so illustrious a citizen, and so great an Orator. When he had taken time to glut his eyes with so cruel a sight, he returned it to be set up on
the

A. R. 665.
Ant. C. 87.

A. R. 665.
Ant. C. 87.

the Tribunal of harangues: so that “upon the
“ very (a) same place, from whence Marcus
“ Antonius, when Consul, had defended the
“ Commonwealth with so much courage, was
“ placed that head, to which so many citizens
“ were indebted for their preservation.” This
Cicero says, who hardly thought, when he was
writing it, that he was relating his own history;
nor that a like fate was reserved for himself
from the grandson of him, whose misfortune
he was so bitterly deploring.

Deaths of
Catulus
and Me-
rula.

After so many murders, committed with a
violence that knew neither check nor bounds,
as if the Law had still any sway amidst such
horrid disorders, or rather to add insult to cruel-
ty, Marius and Cinna caused Catulus and Merula
to be accused in form. Catulus, who had been
Marius's Colleague, and triumphed with him,
over the Cimbri, endeavoured to dissuade him,
and made his friends ask him permission to
quit Rome, and to go into banishment. But
he had to do with the most merciless of all
mankind; and all the intreaties made to him
drew from him only a single word, which he
repeated several times, *Let him die*. Catulus
accordingly shutting himself up in a little cham-
ber, that had been new plaistered with lime,
caused a great fire to be kindled in it, and suf-
focated himself in that manner.

Cic. Tusc.
Quæst. V.
56.

Vell II.
22. Flor.
III. 21.

As to Merula, he resolved to make the god
whose Priest he was, witness of his death; and
having placed himself at the foot of the altar
of Jupiter, he opened his veins in such a manner,

(a) M Antonii, in his positum caput illud fuit, à
ipsis Rostris, in quibus ille quo erant multorum civium
Rempublicam constantissimè capita servata. Cic. de Or.
Consul defenderat, ——— III. 10.

that

that his blood flew upon the statue of that god. A. R. 665.
Ant. C. 87. He no doubt intended to draw down the vengeance of the gods upon his cruel enemies, who forced him to die. A singular circumstance, which, though superstitious, does honour to his piety and zeal for his country, is, that, as it Appian. was thought of bad omen, and capable of offending the gods, that the priest of Jupiter should die with his sacred mitre upon his head. Merula had the precaution to set down in his table-book found about him, that, before he opened his veins, he had taken off that sacred covering. For the rest, the death of this priest of Jupiter induced almost the extinction of that office. For a vacancy ensued for seventy-seven years. The great Cæsar, then very young, was intended by Marius for Merula's successor. But Sylla's victory rendered that nomination useless and of no effect.

Besides the deaths of these great persons, and *Horrible* some others, which history mentions in particu- *slaughter* lar, a dreadful slaughter was made of a vast *in Rome.* number of citizens. A word, a nod of Ma- *Plut in* rius's head, cost those, who came in his way, *Mar.* their lives. At length a Senator, who was called Ancharius, having accosted him, and received no answer to his compliment, was massacred that instant. And this became the rule. All who came to salute Marius, and had not their salute returned, were killed by the slaves that served him as guards: so that his friends themselves approached him not without trembling. Nor was he satiated with shedding so much blood. Cinna was tired with killing, and gave out: but as for him, always merciless, always thirsting after blood and murders, he spared not one of those, of whom he had

V. X.

E

conceived

A. R. 665.
Ant. C. 87.
Dio apud
Valef.

conceived the least suspicion. The slaughter, attended with plundering of houses, and the most criminal violences, continued five days and five nights in Rome, which was become a general scene of horror. Whilst the heads of those, who were massacred, were exposed, as we have said, upon the Tribunal of harangues, their bodies were thrown into the streets, and trampled under foot. For it was prohibited to give them burial.

Plut.

All Italy in like manner felt Marius's fury. The high-ways and cities were full of guards, who followed those, that fled and hid themselves, like hounds by the scent. And very few escaped. The unfortunate found neither faithful friends nor relations: and almost all of them were betrayed by those, to whose houses they had fled for security.

Cornutus
loved by
his father.

This ought to make the fidelity of Cornutus's slaves the more admirable, who, after having concealed him in a safe place, took a dead body, which they tied up by the neck to a beam, to make it believed that it was their master, who had hanged himself, and shewed him in that condition with a gold ring on his finger to the soldiers, who sought him. They afterwards acted the whole ceremony of a funeral, without any body's suspecting the truth: and during that time Cornutus escaped into Gaul.

Plut. in
Sylla.

Appian. in
Mithrid.

Humanity
of the Ro-
man Peo-
ple.

Val. Max.
IV. 3.

Metella, Sylla's wife, was also so fortunate to escape the cruelty of Marius with her children, who discharged his vengeance upon the houses of his enemies in the city and country.

I must not omit here the example of moderation and humanity set by the whole people, which was a very strong reproach of the barbarity

rity and ferocity of the victors. For though A. R. 665.
Ant. C. 87. Marius gave the houses of those, he had caused to be killed, to be plundered at discretion, not a single citizen would contaminate himself with those unhappy spoils; and all of them respected the houses of the unfortunate, as if they had been sacred and inviolable temples.

But none did themselves more honour by Lenity of
Sertorius.
Plut. in
Sert. their lenity on this deplorable conjuncture than Sertorius. Neither resentment, nor the pride of victory, induced him to commit the least violence, or to insult the conquered. He even went farther. As his mildness proceeded from reason, and not weakness, it changed into a fatal severity against the wicked instruments of cruelty. Enraged at the excesses and barbarities committed by the all-licensed slaves of Marius, he concerted with Cinna, who was more tractable, and having obtained his consent, he caused them to be attacked during the night in the camp, where they refused to shut themselves up, and killed them every man, to the number of four thousand.

Marius now made dispositions in the affairs of government, or rather his own, deposing the magistrates he suspected, and annulling Sylla's laws. The year being almost expired, Cinna and he nominated themselves Consuls, without any form of assembly or election.

C. MARIUS VII.

L. CORNELIUS CINNA II.

A. R. 666.
Ant. C. 86.

The first day of the new year was signalized New cruelties of Ma-
rius.
Dio. apud
Jalel.
two Liv. Epit. by horrid cruelties. The son of Marius killed one of the Tribunes of the People with his own hands, and sent his head to the Consuls;

A. R. 666. two Prætors were banished; and a Senator, cal-
 Ant. C. 86. led Sex. Licinius, was, by Marius's order, thrown
 Plut. in. down the Tarpeian rock.
 Mar.

His death. Nothing but death could put a stop to the fury of that bloody old man. Nor was it long before it happened. The state of prosperity, in which he was, did not calm the disquiets occasioned by the fear of Sylla's return, who was making war with great success against the Generals of Mithridates. So formidable an avenger made Marius tremble, and he could not even dissemble his fears. One day entertaining himself with his friends after supper, having repeated all the adventures of his life, and that vicissitude of glorious prosperities and dreadful disgraces through which he had passed, he added, that it was not the part of a man of sense to expose himself again, after the experience of such events, to the caprices of fortune.

These thoughts tormented him, and occasioned his nights to pass without sleep, which fatigued him extremely. He thought of a remedy, which little agreed either with his age, or dignity. This was to abandon himself to the excesses of the table, and to pass his nights in drinking with his friends. By this regimen he soon inflamed his blood. He was taken with a fever, which presently seized his head, and in his delirium, he raved on nothing but the war with Mithridates. He imagined that he had the command of it, and not only spoke, but made gestures, and assumed the attitudes of a man that fights, or of a General giving orders: so violent and incurable was the passion, and so deeply had it taken root in his heart, with which ambition and jealousy uniting, had inspired him for that command. Thus, says Plutarch,

at

at the age of seventy, the only man, who had A. R. 666.
Ant. C. 86. been seven times Consul, and possessing riches, that might have sufficed for several Kings, lamented as one suffering indigence, and died before he could put his views in execution. Wretch, that instead of enjoying the gifts of fortune with gratitude, suffered himself to be deprived of the present in being wholly engrossed by a chimerical future. (a) Such is the fate, adds that philosophical historian, of those, who not having early taken care to prepare their minds by study and sound letters, as a solid foundation and basis for receiving external goods, ineffectually pour both riches and honours into an insatiable abyss, of which they never find a bottom. Marius died the thirteenth of January.

His death did not restore tranquillity to the city: and it appeared even at his funeral, that the fury of his partisans, was not extinguished with his life. Fimbria, one of the most violent ministers of his cruelties, who had massacred L. Cæsar, and the son of P. Crassus, ordered somebody to kill Q. Scævola the Pontiff, that person so venerable for his virtue, during the very pomp of the procession. Scævola receiving only a slight wound, Fimbria cited him before the People. And when he was asked, what crime he could lay to the charge of a man that it was next to impossible to praise as he deserved? *I shall accuse him, said that brutal wretch, of not having received enough of the dagger, with which he should have been killed in* Scævola wounded with a dagger at Marius's funeral.
Cic. pro Sext.
Rosc. n. 33.
Val. Max. ix. 11.

(a) Πρὶν ἐκ λόγου καὶ παιδείας τὰ καὶ συμφερόντες, ἐμπλήσαι, ἔθρην υποβαλίσσας καὶ κρηπίδα τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς ὁ δύνανται τὸ ἀκέραιον ἔχειν ἀγαθοῖς, συνάγοντες αὐ-

A. R. 666.
A.D. C. 86.

the Forum. Such were the worthy instruments employed by Marius to satiate his ambition and revenge: and in that manner did he continue by his followers the evils he had perpetrated during his life.

*Reflexion
upon the
character
of Marius,
and his
fortune.*

Liv. Epit.
LXX.
Vell. II.
11 & 23.
Val. Max.
IX. 1.

Almost all those, who spoke of Marius, have observed, that he was (a) less fatal to his country in peace than to his enemies in war. Valerius Maximus goes farther, and judges with reason, (b) that his victories were not a sufficient compensation for the horrors of which he had been guilty: and that he merited admiration less for his great actions against the enemies of Rome, than the public hatred and detestation for the crimes he had committed against his country. And indeed he had all the vices of great wicked men: he had neither fidelity, honour, nor humanity; he was ungrateful, an enemy to all virtue, jealous of all merit, and cruel as a wild beast. When after all this, Marius is treated as a great man, and an hero, it is perhaps the most flagrant example of the weakness of mankind, who so little understand their interests, as to annex the idea of greatness and heroism to the fatal art of destroying their species, and who can admit, that such heroism can subsist with the vices most pernicious to society.

His fortune scarce seems more worthy of envy, than his conduct of praise. He, without doubt, became the most famous of the Romans. But if, instead of suffering ourselves to be daz-

(a) Quantum bello optimus, tantum pace pessimus
—— vir in bello hostibus,
in otio civibus infestissimus.
Vell.

(b) Penè tanti victoriæ
ejus non fuerunt: quarum
oblitus, plus criminis commi,
quam laudis militiæ meruit.
Val. Max.

zled

zled by the vain splendor of riches and dignities, we consider what it cost him to acquire and secure the possession of them ; what intrigues, cabals, anxieties : add to these the torment of envy, fears, vexation on being often forced to give way, and lastly, the deplorable circumstances of his flight. Would not he have been more happy, if tranquil in the obscure state he was born, cultivating the little land, either left him by his father, or acquired by his own labour, he had led a life exempt from care and dangers ?

Let me be suffered to carry my views still farther, and to add to the example of Marius, that of the commonwealth itself, of which he was both the preserver and executioner. What a dreadful situation was that of Rome in the midst of all its prosperity and greatness ? She is victorious over all her enemies, and tyrannized over by her own citizens. She puts to flight, and cuts in pieces, foreign armies, and is drowned in her own blood. She gives laws to all nations, and cannot support her own, that change every instant with the caprices of the tyrants that oppress her. And it is even this prosperity that gives birth to all her calamities. Modest and happy as long as she was weak and low ; it is good fortune that introduces the most horrid of vices and calamities into her bosom. Such is the error and uncertainty of all human things ! so ignorant are men of what constitute their real happiness ! Let us conclude then, that there is no solid felicity either for states or private persons, but in the practice of virtue ; and that virtue is much more the friend and companion of mediocrity, than of too great elevation of fortune.

 BOOK THE THIRTY SECOND.

 THE
 ROMAN HISTORY.

WHICH first contains the beginnings of Mithridates's first war with the Romans, to the peace granted him by Sylla; and lastly Sylla's return to Italy, which happens the 668th year of Rome.

S E C T. I.

Ancestors and nobility of Mithridates. Comets, the pretended presage of his future greatness. He is exposed in his infancy to the plots of his guardians. They turn to his advantage. His cruelty. He was a great Eater and Drinker. His ambition and first conquests. Actual State of Asia Minor. Mithridates meditates long his scheme of war with the Romans. He divides Paphlagonia with Nicomedes. After having extirpated the race of the Kings of Cappadocia, he puts one of his sons in possession of that Kingdom. Competitor opposed by Nicomedes to the son of Mithridates. The Senate having offered the Cappadocians liberty, they choose rather to have a King, and elect Ariobarzanes, who is put into possession by Sylla, and then

then dethroned by Tigranes. Nicomedes, Son of Nicomedes Philopator, is dethroned by Mithridates. Aquillius is sent by the Senate to re-instate the dethroned Kings. Mithridates forms a powerful league against the Romans. Nicomedes is engaged by Aquillius to make an incursion into the territories of Mithridates. The latter sends complaints to Rome. Ambiguous answer of the Romans. Mithridates dethrones Ariobarzanes. He sends a new Embassy to the Roman Generals, appealing to the decision of the Senate. The Roman Generals assemble three armies to re-instate Ariobarzanes and defend Nicomedes. Forces of Mithridates. Nicomedes is defeated by the Generals of Mithridates. Aquillius is also overcome. The whole country remains open to Mithridates, who gains the affection of the People by his lenity, and liberality. Speech of Mithridates to his army. All Asia Minor submits to him. He takes Oppius the Roman General prisoner: then Aquillius, whom he treats with indignities, and upon whom he inflicts a cruel punishment. He marries Monima. The Senate and People of Rome declare against him. He causes four-score thousand Romans to be massacred in one day. Rutilius escapes. Horrid calumny of Theophanes against Rutilius. Only the Rhodians continue faithful to the Romans. Mithridates besieges Rhodes in person, and is obliged to raise the siege. Two remarkable circumstances of his character. Measures, which he takes for pushing the war, and invading Greece. History of Aristion the Sophist, who makes Mithridates master of Athens. Brutius Sura checks the progress of Mithridates.

WE have long been engrossed by melancholy objects. Rome and Italy have presented nothing but spectacles of horror. I believe it will be some relief to the Reader, at least I find it so to me, to remove to a foreign war, in which the Roman valour is employed against the power of an enemy to Rome, and not against allies and fellow-citizens. Sylla made war against Mithridates, whilst his party was crushed in Italy by Marius's faction. Hence the order of time requires us now to enter upon the history of that great war, however resuming things a little higher.

*Ancients
and Noti-
lity of
Mithrida-
tes.*

* Vol.
VII.

† Vol. V.
lib. XIII.

§ Hinc.
Hist. Vol.
II. Ap-
pian Mi-
tarid p.
249.

Mithridates, at first surnamed Eupator, and afterwards the Great, had received from his fore-fathers a Kingdom of considerable extent, as it included all the country bordering upon the Euxine Sea, from the banks of the river Halys as far as Colchis. However none of his predecessors and ancestors had made themselves very famous. All that we know of those Kings, which is no great matter, may be seen in Mr. Rollin's Ancient * History, or in that of the † Jews of Mr. Prideaux. The most remarkable fact there, in respect to Mithridates, is, that he was descended from the most illustrious origin in the Universe, as it was traced back to one of the seven Persian Noblemen, who killed the Magus § Smerdis. Appian expressly mentions, as the author of his race, Darius the son of Hytaspes, who, after having killed the Magus, became King of Persia: which some of the Learned explain by supposing, that the Kings of Pontus descended from Artabranes or Artabarzanes, the son of Darius, and elder brother of Xerxes, who hav-
ing

ing been obliged to cede the Empire of the Persians to his younger brother, born after his father's accession to the throne, in order to console him, obtained a settlement upon the coast of the Euxine Sea.

The father of Mithridates Eupator, was also called Mithridates, with the surname of Evergetes. That Prince was the first of his race, that made an alliance with the Romans. He had supplied them with some aid in the third war with Carthage, and in that against Aristonicus. He received as a reward Phrygia major, dismembered from the dominions of the Kings of Pergamus, upon which he had before some ancient pretensions. His father Pharnaces had added the city of Sinope to his Kingdom; an important conquest, and which became the residence of the Kings of Pontus, and the capital of their Dominions. Mithridates Evergetes perished in this city by the conspiracy of some of his court, leaving two sons, the eldest of whom, our Mithridates, was in his twelfth year. His death, and consequently the beginning of the reign of Mithridates the Great, may be referred to the 629th year of Rome.

History has observed, that the year of Mithridates Eupator's accession to the crown, as well as that of his birth, was signalized by the appearance of a comet, which was seen during seventy days, and of which the light was so great, that the whole firmament seemed on fire. For, as it is said, its magnitude (no doubt including its tail) occupied the fourth part of the heavens, and its light effaced that of the sun itself; and when it rose or set, it required four hours both for its total appearance and total disappearance. I leave it to the Astrologers to judge,

Comets, the pretended presage of his future greatness.
Justin. XXXVII.
2.

judge, whether this description be not exaggerated, and whether flattery has not magnified the comet to exalt the glory of the Prince, whose greatness it was pretended to presage. I may not improperly observe, that comets have with reason in these days lost abundance of their credit, which never had any other foundation than a stupid admiration for every thing extraordinary, and the phrenzy of desiring to penetrate futurity, of which the knowledge is reserved to God alone.

He is exposed in his infancy to the plots of his guardians.

It is certain, that the situation of Mithridates in the beginning of his reign, did not denounce what he became in the sequel. Nothing seemed less terrible: a kingdom in no wise comparable to those, over which the Romans had already triumphed; an infant King, exposed to the continual plots of perfidious guardians, who spared no means imaginable to destroy him. It is, however, in this state of obscurity and weakness, that the greatest (a) King in the world was formed; one infinitely superior to all the Princes his contemporaries, and whose exploits equal the most illustrious conquerors, that had preceded him; the most formidable enemy Rome had after Hannibal; who sustained against the Romans, then at the very highest degree of their power, a war of thirty years with various success; and who, after having had the

(a) Cujus ea magnitudo fuit, ut non sui tantum temporis, verum etiam superioris ætatis omnes Reges majestate superaverit, bellique eum Romanis per * xxx annos variâ victoriâ gesserit: quum eum summi imperatores, Sylla, Lucullus, Pompeius, ita vicerint, ut major clariorque in restaurando bello resurgeret, damnisque suis terribilior redderetur. *Justin. XXXVII. 1.*

* *The text of Justin says XLVI, but that is a manifest error.*
most

most able Generals, Sylla, Lucullus, Pompey, to deal with, in proportion as he was overcome, acquired greater forces, and became more terrible by his losses and defeats.

The bad designs of his guardians turned to *They turn* his advantage. They endeavoured to make *to his ad-* him ride a vicious horse not broke, obliging *vantage.* him to run, and exercise darting the javelin at the same time. His strength and address preserved him from all danger: and he became the best horseman of his kingdom. They had afterwards recourse to poison. But the young Prince, who distrusted them, by way of precaution, used antidotes, and was the only one *Plin.* who contracted the habit of taking poison every *XXV. 2:* day, after having prepared himself for it with its contrary, in such a manner, that in the extremities of his affairs, when he was for poisoning himself, he could not accomplish his end of dying by that means. Necessity had even made him a great proficient in this kind of knowledge: and he was the inventor of several kinds of antidotes, of which one has retained his name. At length, as he apprehended, that his enemies would execute that by the sword which they had failed of by poison, he removed entirely from cities; and under pretext of a violent passion for hunting, he lived, if we may believe Trogus Pompeius abridged by Justin, seven whole years in the forests, without ever entering not only into any city, but under any roof in the country, passing the nights in the midst of woods, often without any body's knowing the place of his retreat; for the rest, exercising himself in pursuing, flying, and fighting wild beasts: and by those violent exercises he acquired such strength of body and vigour

gour of constitution, as enabled him to undergo all fatigues, and did not abandon him even in old age.

His cruelty.

This life was well adapted to inspiring him with a kind of ferocity of character, that degenerated into cruelty. And the dangers, to which he continually saw himself exposed from those, who had most reason to be attached to his person, also promoted that bad temper.

*Frein-
them.*

Supplem.

Louis.

LXIII. 46

Accordingly, he was cruel to excess. He not only, when he assumed the reins of empire, put his guardians who well deserved it, to death; but he did not spare even his own mother, whom he probably suspected of having shared in their bad designs. He also deprived his brother of life; no doubt, from apprehending a competitor in him. His sons, daughters, and wives, at different times, experienced his barbarity; as we shall shew in the sequel. I do not mention his cruelties to the Romans; though (c) war has also its laws, and the rights of humanity ought to take place, even between enemies.

*He was a
great eater
and drinker.*

He also, in consequence of the same rough and laborious education, became a great eater and drinker: and this, according to some, occasioned him to be surnamed *Dionysius* or *Bacchus*. Other authors give that surname a more honourable origin according to the ideas of Pagans. They say, that whilst he was a child in the cradle, thunder fell so near him as to burn his blankets, and some of his hair, without doing him any hurt: and that this accident, which resembles what Fable related of Bacchus, caused the name of that god to be ap-

(c) Sunt & belli, sicut pacis, jura. Liv. V. 27.

plied to him. However that were, it is certain Mithridates not only ate and drank much, but valued himself upon it; so that one day at table he proposed a prize for the person, that should outdo the rest of the guests in that point, and that prize was adjusted to himself. A fine Nicol. triumph for a King! For the rest, it does not Dam. appear that the pleasures of the table made him apud neglect his affairs. Ambition was his ruling Athen. X. passion, and shewed itself very early. 3.

He no sooner saw himself in quiet possession of his dominions, than (a) he conceived thoughts His ambi- not of governing, says Justin, but extending tion and them. If that Author intended by this, as he first con- seems to do, to praise him, he was undoubtedly Justin. XXXVII. much mistaken. The first exploits of Mithri- 3. dates were against the Scythians, and the other Barbarian nations, and even some Greek Colonies, that inhabited the north of the Euxine Sea; and he reduced all that coast as far as the Bosphorus and Palus Mæotis. Such great successes flushed him, and made him conceive the design of universal monarchy. Strabo, a Strabo. I. very judicious author, and perfectly informed VII. of what related to this Prince, says, that from P. 309. thenceforth he entertains thoughts of penetrating by that way as far as the Adriatic Sea, in order to attack the Romans. But the affairs of Asia called him elsewhere, and presented him more easy and better chosen conquests.

In these wars, wherein he had to do with savage nations, he enured his body more and more against fatigues, and his mind against danger. His troops accustomed to cross deserts

(a) Statim non de regendo, sed de augendo regno cogitavit. Justin.

and

and vast uncultivated regions, and to suffer hunger, and the regions of cold, were become invincible under a potent and warlike King, who generally marched on foot at their head. In consequence the Asiatics must have been an easy prey, nations in all times effeminate and enervated to excess by the delicious abundance of their country.

*State of
Asia Mi-
nor at that
time.*

But to understand rightly what we are to relate, we must call to mind what the state of Asia Minor, and of the principal powers that divided it, was at that time. The Romans possessed Asia properly so called, that is the Kingdom of Pergamus, which had been left them by the Will of Attalus Philometor, and conquered by them from Aristonicus. Nicomedes (a) Philopator, son of Prusias, reigned in Bithynia. Paphlagonia had long had its King, whose common name was Pylemenes. As it was situated between the dominions of the Kings of Pontus and Bithynia, it had suffered much from those two powerful neighbours ; and its ancient Kings seemed to have been reduced very low from the time of Mithridates Evergetes. Next to Paphlagonia, along the coast of the Euxine Sea, was the Kingdom of Pontus. Cappadocia was under Ariarathes, the son of another of that name, who died in the service of the Romans in the war with Aristonicus. Galatia was divided between several Tetrarchs. . But all these States, and the other parts of Asia Minor, without being immediately under the Roman sway, respected their greatness, and in a manner received the law

(a) This surname, which Nicomedes, who had caused
signifies Lover of his Father, Prusias to be killed.
was a severe reproach to

from them. Especially when any troubles or quarrel arose between the Princes or states of those countries, the Romans did not fail to make themselves the Arbitrators of them, and their opinion was a kind of orders.

Mithridates, an haughty and ambitious *Mithridates* Prince, far from suffering patiently this sub-^{tes long}jection, had no thoughts but of substituting ^{meditates}himself in their stead. He thought it nothing ^{the design}to invade the dominions of his neighbours, of ^{of a war}whom in reallity none were capable to resist him. *Romans.* His aim was against the Romans: and not doubting, but he should draw their arms upon him, as soon as he should undertake to augment his power, because they were always attentive to prevent the crushing of the weak, and the aggrandizing of those, who might give them umbrage, he on a sudden formed a plan for driving them entirely out of Asia. To enable *Justin.* himself to attack the Roman province with ad- *Ibid.*vantage, he thought proper to inform himself with his own eyes. He made the tour of it in disguise with some of his friends; and passed through it without being known by any one, examining the cities, important posts, passes of rivers, and every thing that might facilitate the conquest of it.

He had a pretext for war with them ready, *Justin.* founded on their having divested him of Phrygia *xxxviii. 5.* Major, that had been given his father, in re- *Appian*ward for services done by him in the war with *Mithrid.* Aristonicus. The Romans pretended, that it *p. 208.* was Aquillius, who on his own authority, and for presents made him by Mithridates Evergetes, had given him that province, and they took the advantage of the infancy of his son, to deprive him of it, and to declare Phrygia a free

* Vol.
VIII.
at the end.

state. And indeed Aquillius had been accused of extortion, at his return from Asia, as has been * related in its place. Thus the conduct of the Romans was not without the appearance at least of justice. But it is easy to conceive what a wound such a treatment had left in the heart of Mithridates, and what resentment he retained in effect. He however did not blindly follow the dictates of his revenge. He chose rather that it should be slow, provided it should in effect be more sure. He gave his design time to ripen, and resolved to aggrandize himself gradually, and to acquire as much strength as possible, in order to be in a condition to attack so formidable a power as the Romans.

*He divides
Paphlagonia with
Nicomedes.
Justin.
XXXVII.
4.*

He had pretensions upon Paphlagonia; and having made a treaty with Nicomedes, they conquered it at their common expence, and divided it between them. The Romans immediately took the alarm, and sent an Embassy to order the two Kings to reinstate the Paphlagonian nation in its former condition. Mithridates answered haughtily, that country belonged to him, as it had done to his father, by right of inheritance, and without being terrified by the menaces of the Embassadors, he at the same time seized Galatia. Nicomedes, who knew he was not so strong, pretended to obey. But having made one of his sons assume the name of Pylemenes, he placed him upon the throne of Paphlagonia, as if reviving the name of their Kings, had been re-establishing them in their former condition. Thus the Embassy of the Romans was eluded. It was perhaps on this occasion, that Mithridates sent that Embassy to Rome, which Saturninus insulted, as has been related above.

The

The affair of Paphlagonia had no important consequences: but the enterprizes of Mithridates upon Cappadocia, at length produced an open rupture between him and the Romans. There was no crime, that he did not commit to make himself master of that Kingdom, which was entirely commodious for him, and bordered upon his Dominions. He caused the King Ariarathes, who was his brother-in-law, having married Laodice the King of Pontus's sister, to be assassinated. He killed the eldest son of the same Ariarathes, with his own hand at an interview, which he had deceitfully concerted. He dethroned his second nephew, who died in consequence of grief. And lastly, not daring to take possession of Cappadocia in his own name, he made one of his sons King, aged only eighteen, whom he caused to take the name of Ariarathes, and was for passing him for the (a) son, or rather grandson, of him, who died in the war with Aristonicus.

A. R. 651.
After having extirpated the race of the Kings of Cappadocia, he places one of his sons upon the throne of that kingdom.
Justin. XXXVIII 1. and 2.

Nicomedes saw Mithridates aggrandize himself in this manner with a jealous eye. He used great efforts to prevent it, or at least to share in the prey. But not being able to succeed by force, he had recourse to fraud. Laodice, the King of Pontus's sister, and mother of the two last lawful Kings of Cappadocia, enraged to see herself persecuted by her brother, had thrown herself into the arms of Nicomedes, and had married him. Ambition and revenge suggested to them the design of setting up a third

Competitor opposed by Nicomedes to the son of Mithridates.

F 2

Ariarathes,

(a) The expression of Justin is equivocal, ex Ariarathe genitum. But the Prince's age here mentioned requires, that he should be considered rather as the grandson of the ancient Ariarathes. That Ariarathes had six sons, the five

Ariarathes, brother of the two former, to whom they pretended, that the Kingdom of Cappadocia belonged : and Laodice went expressly to Rome to support the fraud with the Senate. Mithridates did not give place to his enemies in point of impudence, and sent Ambassadors to Rome to declare, that the King established by him was truly of the blood Royal of Cappadocia, and descended from the ancient Ariarathes.

The Senate having offered the Cappadocians liberty, they choose rather to have a King, and elect Ariarathes. The Senate were not to be deceived by these gross frauds, which unmasked and destroyed each other ; and conformably to the ancient maxims of the Roman policy, always intent upon weakening the Kings, and gaining nations by the gift of a liberty, that had more appearance than reality in it, they declared, that

five eldest of which had been of these five Princes. To make this the clearer a Genealogical branch will not be improper.

A R I A R A T H E S.

Who died in the war with Aristonicus.

Five eldest poisoned by their mother, from one of which was made to pass as Son.	ARIARATHES assassinated by order of Mi- thridates.	LAODICE Sister of Mi- thridates.
ARIARATHES supposed Prince of Cap- padocia, really Son of Mithri- dates.	ARIARATHES killed by Mi- thridates with his own hand.	ARIARATHES Prince sup- posed set up by Nico- medes. dethroned by Mithridates, and died of grief.

Mithridates

Mithridates and Nicomedes should abandon, the one Cappadocia and the other Paphlagonia, and that those two countries should be free for the future. We do not know what effect this decree of the Senate had in respect to Paphla- Strabo
gonia. But the Cappadocians extremely sur- l. XII.
prized the Romans by the declaration they P. 540.
made, that liberty would be a burthen to them, and that their nation could not subsist without a King. The Senate amazed beyond imagination, however permitted the Cappadocians to retain the kind of government, that suited them best, and to elect themselves a King as they judged proper. Their choice fell upon Ariobarzanes, which was confirmed by the Senate, and whose posterity reigned to the third generation.

Sylla, who had been Prætor the year before, *Who is put*
was commissioned to put the new King in pos- *in possession*
session of Cappadocia. The thing was not *by Sylla.*
without its difficulty. Mithridates, indeed, *Plut. in*
dared not openly oppose the decrees of the Se- *Sylla.*
nate: but he set one Gordius secretly at work, *A. R. 660.*
whom he had before employed, to assassinate King Ariarathes his brother-in-law, and whom he appointed guardian of his false Ariarathes. He had in the last place laboured to have him elected King by the Cappadocians: and though the affair had miscarried, Gordius had still a party in the kingdom, with which he was so bold to make head against Sylla. The Roman had no great trouble in defeating and expelling him: and Cappadocia, under a King, the friend of Rome and dependant of the Romans, got entirely rid of Mithridates. It was in this manner Sylla began with the King, and, to use the
F 3 expression,

expression, played the prelude to the hot war he was some years after to make with him.

*And then
died and
by Mi-
thridates.*

*Justin.
XXAVIII
3.*

The new affront, which the Romans had made Mithridates suffer, exasperated that haughty spirit. But as he was no less politic than enterprizing, before he openly declared himself their enemy, he resolved to secure himself a potent neighbouring ally. Tigranes, King of Armenia, had very much extended the dominions of his ancestors by his conquests, and formed a great empire. Mithridates made him first marry his daughter Cleopatra. After which, apprehending still that a war with the Romans would terrify him, he resolved to embroil him with them without his perceiving it; and he sent Gordius to him, to implore his aid for his re-establishment in Cappadocia, which he pretended to belong to him; insinuating at the same time to Tigranes the facility of dethroning a weak and ill-settled King like Ariobarzanes. The King of Armenia tempted by this proposal, which flattered his ambition and vanity, suffered himself to be engaged in what Mithridates desired. He sent two of his Generals with an army against Ariobarzanes, who, perceiving the party too unequal, and besides being no warrior, as soon as he saw the storm ready to fall upon him, secured his effects and fled to Rome.

*Nicomedes,
the Son of
Nicomedes
Philopater,
is dethroned
by Mi-
thridates.
Appian.
Mithrid.*

At the same time Nicomedes Philopater happening to die, the inheritance of the crown occasioned troubles in Bithynia. He left behind him two sons, of which the eldest, called Nicomedes as well as his father, was acknowledged, and supported by the Romans: Mithridates supported the other, whose name was Socrates; and as he was upon the spot, he supplied

plied him with such powerful aids, that Nicomedes was dethroned, and went to Rome to join his complaints with those of Ariobarzanes.

The Romans were then in a very great perplexity. It was in the height of the war of the Allies, which laid them under the impossibility of providing for the occasions of countries so remote. They however sent Commissioners, at the head of whom was that M. Aquilius, who had terminated the war of the slaves in Sicily; a brave warrior, but avaricious, as has been observed elsewhere. These Commissioners had orders to reinstate the Kings, Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes, and for that purpose to call in the aid not only of L. Cassius, Proconsul of Asia, but of Mithridates himself. For that Prince had not appeared directly in all these movements, of which he was however the soul: and the Romans who were not mistaken in respect to them, had probably put that circumstance into their decree, in order to reduce them to declare himself. They had long perceived, that he was preparing for a war with them: and we have seen, that the heads of the Commonwealth, and such as could pretend to commands, passionately desired that occasion of acquiring glory, and enriching themselves with the spoils of Asia.

Aquilius is sent by the Senate to reinstate the dethroned Kings.

Mithridates acted with great prudence. He was far from contributing to re-establish the Princes he had dethroned in their Dominions. But being unwilling to appear the first in breaking with the Romans, he continued quiet, and suffered Aquilius and Cassius, with such troops as they could draw together, to replace Nicomedes upon the throne of Bithynia, and Ariobarzanes upon that of Cappadocia. During this

Mithridates forms a powerful league against the Romans. Justin. Appian.

this seeming inaction he strengthened himself exceedingly. He made a Treaty with Tigranes, by which it was agreed between them, that of the conquests which they should make together, the cities and countries should belong to Mithridates, and all the men and plunder to the King of Armenia. Mithridates, as appears by this treaty, knew how to take his advantages. But Tigranes had also his view, which was to people Tigranocerta, that he was then building, and which he designed to make one of the greatest cities in the Universe. The King of Pontus brought also into his interests the Gallo-Græcians, the Sarmatæ, the Bastarnæ and the Scythians. He had great bodies of troops from those nations, and in a word, armed almost all Upper Asia against the Romans. With such powerful preparations he contented himself however with observing their motions, without committing any act of hostility ; designing to have the appearance of justice and equity on his side. It was in these circumstances he received an Embassy from the Italian States, to invite him to join his forces with theirs. But the affairs of Asia were too much embroiled to make it possible for Mithridates to remove from it, and the fruits he hoped from them were more certain and immediate.

Diodor.
l. xxxvii.

*Nicomedes
is induc'd
by Aquilius
to make an
incursion
into the
dominions
of Mithri-
dates.
Appian.*

The occasion he waited was soon supplied him by the avidity of the Roman Generals. As soon as they had reinstated the Kings of Bythinia and Cappadocia, they incessantly pressed them to undertake something against Mithridates, in order to induce the war. Those two Princes had no inclination to it, being afraid to draw an enemy again upon them, whose strength they had already experienced. But at length Nicomedes, who

who had promised great sums to the Roman Generals and Commissioners for obtaining his re-establishment, which were still unpaid, and being pressed besides by a great number of other Romans, who had lent him money, resolved notwithstanding his repugnance, to satisfy them. He therefore entered the country of the King of Pontus in arms, and laid it waste as far as the city Amastris without any Resistance. For Mithridates, true to his plan, was glad to have good causes of complaint, and to make the Romans act the part of Aggressors.

As soon as Nicomedes retired, Mithridates, *Mithridates complains of it to the Romans.* to fix the wrong upon the Romans, sent them his complaints by an Ambassador, who took great care at first to dwell upon the quality of Ally of the Roman People, that Mithridates and his father had constantly maintained. He alledged as a proof of his master's fidelity to this alliance, the submission with which he had acquiesced in being deprived of Phrygia Major and Cappadocia, to which he pretended to have the justest claim. He added, that it was in the same spirit of respect for the Romans, that he had suffered the last insult of Nicomedes, tho' he had more than sufficient forces to repel it. He concluded, that the Romans ought either to force the King of Bithynia to make him satisfaction, or to consent that Mithridates should do himself justice.

After Pelopidas, so the Ambassador of Mithridates was called, had spoke to this effect, those of Nicomedes, who were present at the audience, began. They had no difficulty to prove the justice of their master's arms, and of the revenge he had taken of an enemy, who had armed his own brother against him. But they

they expatiated most in shewing both by the whole conduct of the King of Pontus, and the immense preparations he had made, that his designs had a much higher and more important aim than Bithynia, and that it was the Romans he meditated. They concluded this discourse with exhorting the Romans not to have the change put upon them. “ It behoves your
 “ wisdom, said they, not to wait till Mithri-
 “ dates shall please to declare himself your
 “ enemy : and you ought rather to consider
 “ his actions than his words. Beware of giv-
 “ ing up your true and real friends to a Prince,
 “ who only disguises himself with the outside
 “ of a dissembled amity; and do not suffer
 “ him who is as much your enemy as ours, to
 “ make void your decree concerning Bithynia,
 “ and to prevent the lawful King of it from
 “ enjoying your favour.”

Pelopidas in his answer consented, that the Romans should be arbitrators in respect to the ancient differences between Mithridates and Nicomedes, but persisted in demanding justice of them for the last hostilities committed by the King of Bithynia, of which themselves had been witnesses.

*Ambiguous
 Answer of
 the Ro-
 mans.*

The Romans were at a loss what answer to make. They were fully determined to support Nicomedes, and it was only for form-sake they had heard the Ambassador of Mithridates. But on the other side, the alliance with that Prince still subsisted. They therefore disguised their thoughts in an ambiguous meaning, which Ap-
 pian repeats in these words: “ If Mithridates
 “ has been hurt by Nicomedes, we are sorry :
 “ but we will not suffer Nicomedes to be at-
 “ tacked, which is contrary to the interests of
 “ the

“ the Commonwealth.” Pelopidas, who perceived that the Romans avoided explaining themselves, pressed in vain for a more circumstantial declaration. He was obliged to return without any other reply.

Mithridates took the answer of the Romans for a refusal of justice. Therefore observing measures no longer, he sent his son Ariarathes into Cappadocia with a powerful army: and though Mancinus, one of the Senate’s Commissioners, was upon the spot, and supported Ariobarzanes, the battle was fought, and Ariarathes being victorious, repossessed himself of the Kingdom of Cappadocia.

Mithridates de-thrones Ariobarzanes.

Mithridates, after having made the Romans sensible in this manner, that he did not fear them, sent back the same Pelopidas with instructions more haughty than before. He had orders to complain in the strongest terms, not of the Commonwealth and Senate, but of the Roman Generals, who were in Asia, and before whom he spoke. He pretended, that what had lately happened in Cappadocia, was the fruit and reward of their injustice and bad treatment of his master, whose power he magnified, and the extent of his dominions, the Allies he had made, and the forces he had assembled by sea and land. He reproached them, that it was a great imprudence to engage their Commonwealth in a war with so powerful a King, whilst they were scarce able to oppose the arms of their Allies of Italy, who attacked the centre of their empire. He threatened them with laying his complaints against them before the Senate, and to cite them to appear to give an account of their conduct. And lastly, as Mithridates still called himself the ally of Rome,

He sends a new Embassy to the Roman Generals, citing them to answer before the Senate.

Pelopidas

Pelopides declared in his name, that if justice were done him in respect to Nicomedes, he was ready to aid the Romans against the revolted Italians. *If not, added he, at length throw off the appearance of amity, or else let us proceed to a trial before the Senate.*

*The Roman
Generals
assemble
three
armies for
restoring
Ariobar-
zanes, and
defending
Nicomedes.*

The Roman Generals were extremely piqued at the haughtiness of this discourse, which attacked them personally. They answered in a no less lofty manner that they forbade Mithridates either to attack Nicomedes, or to intermeddle in the affairs of Cappadocia, whither they were going to reinstate Ariobarzanes directly. And in dismissing the Ambassador with this answer, they declared to him, that it was to no purpose to return any more, if he did not bring with him his master's entire submission to the laws they prescribed him. But as they did not rely upon that submission, they assembled forces from all sides, Phrygia, Paphlagonia and the neighbouring countries: and joining these troops with the body of Romans under L. Cassius, Proconsul of Asia, they formed three divisions of them, of which each commanded one. Cassius with one of these armies encamped upon the frontiers of Bithynia and Gallogræcia; Aquillius took upon himself to oppose the entrance of Mithridates into Bithynia; and Q. Appianus marched towards Cappadocia: they had also a fleet near Byzantium, to shut up that of Mithridates in the Euxine Sea. Nicomedes on his side assembled an army of fifty thousand foot, and six thousand horse. In this manner did three Roman Generals, without the order of the Senate, undertake a war of so great importance, and of which the consequences were fatal to so many nations.

The

The imprudence of these Roman Generals was the greater, as the power and preparations of Mithridates were formidable. He had of his own forces two hundred and fifty thousand foot, forty thousand horse, an hundred and thirty chariots armed with scythes, three hundred decked ships, and an hundred others of smaller size. Add to this, able Generals, as Neoptolimus and Archelaus, who were brothers, Dorylaus and some others, all formed by long experience of war, and upon whom however Mithridates did not rely so much, as not to see every thing with his own eyes, and conduct all important enterprises in person. Most of the Kings of the East were in his interest. Tigranes was his son-in-law, and supplied him with troops. The Kings of Parthia, Syria and Egypt favoured him. He had spared nothing for amassing immense stores of all kinds: and for his fleet, he had caused pilots to come from Egypt and Phœnicia, countries where navigation had been successfully cultivated in all ages. Such great forces promised great advantages over enemies ill-prepared, and almost taken at unawares: and he was not deceived in his hopes.

His Generals at first gained a considerable victory over Nicomedes near a river called Amnias, in Paphlagonia. The King of Bithynia's camp was taken with immense booty, and a great number of prisoners. This compleat victory was gained by the light-armed foot only, supported by the horse, the Phalanx not being able to share in the battle: and from thence the Roman Generals began to conceive fear, seeing the less number defeat the greater, and that not from the advantage of the ground, nor by the fault or cowardise of the Bithynians, but

*Forces of
Mithri-
dates.*

*Nicomedes
is over-
come by the
Generals of
Mithri-
dates.*

but by the ability of Mithridates's Generals, and the valour of his army. The fruit of this victory to Mithridates was the conquest of Paphlagonia; he subjected it on his march, and encamped at the mountain of * Scoroba upon the frontiers of Bithynia.

*Aquillius
is also de-
feated.*

The Romans themselves soon experienced the valour of the enemy they had at first despised. Nicomedes having drawn together the remnant of his defeat, had joined Aquillius. But upon the approach of Mithridates's army, and in consequence of a small action, in which an hundred Sarmation horse had defeated eight hundred Bithynians, those troops already terrified with their former disgrace were seized with fear and dispersed: and Aquillius not being strong enough to resist the enemy, was entirely defeated, lost his camp, fled towards the river Sangarius, and having passed it in the night, did not believe himself safe till he arrived in Pergamus.

*The whole
country
remains
open to
Mithri-
dates, who
gains the
affection
of the Na-
tions by po-
pular be-
haviour
and libera-
lity.
Diodor.
apud
Vales.*

This second victory opened the whole country to Mithridates. Cassius retired to Apamea, Nicomedes to Pergamus, Mancinus to Rhodes, and Oppius to Laodicea. They shut themselves up in the cities, not being able to keep the field. At the same time the fleet, that guarded the entrance of the Euxine Sea, separated, and several of Nicomedes's ships were even delivered up by their commanders to Mithridates. Thus that Prince being master of all the passes by sea and land, had only to appear, to receive the submission of the States, that came in emulation of each other to pay their homage to him. For like a wise conqueror he had taken care to

* Some suppose this might be Mount Hypius, mentioned by Pliny, V. 32.

conciliate their affection; treating all the Asiatic prisoners that had fallen into his hands with every kind of indulgence. In the like manner Hannibal of old, at the same time that he exercised the greatest rigours over the Roman prisoners, was prodigal to the Latines, and people of Italy, whom the chance of war had brought into his power, of caresses and instances of favour. This conduct succeeded perfectly well with Mithridates. The cities contended with each other in inviting him to honour them with his presence; calling him, according to the impious custom of those dark times, their God and Preserver. All Bithynia was reduced in a few days. From thence Mithridates entered Phrygia, which belonged to the Romans; and he resolved to take up the same quarters Alexander had done of old; an happy omen, and at the same time a comparison that soothed his vanity.

Cic. pro
Flacco.
n. 60.
Appian.

He forgot nothing that might conciliate so many new conquests to his sway: and uniting actual liberality with caresses, he granted to the cities a general remittance of all they owed, either to the Government, or Particulars, and an exemption from taxes for five years. The immense treasures of their ancient Kings, on which he seized, and the abundance of provisions and ammunition which he found laid up every where, enabled him to display benevolence and magnificence, without depriving himself of the necessary resources for advancing the war and his conquests.

Justin.
xxxviii. 5.

Till his entrance into Phrygia, Mithridates had not directly attacked the Romans, but only their Allies. He then took off the mask, and openly declared himself an enemy to Rome.

Speech of
Mithrida-
tes to his
soldiers.
Justin.

As xxxviii 4:

As he undertook a war against so formidable a People, he thought it necessary to encourage his troops; and Justin has preserved the oration, which Trojus Pompeius put into his mouth upon this occasion. As this discourse is extremely long, and recites in few words, abundance of facts, both ancient and modern, which the reader has already seen, I shall content myself with abridging it here, and with only repeating the circumstances of it that seem most remarkable.

Mithridates proves first to his soldiers, that the Romans are not invincible, by mentioning on that head, not only the advantages themselves had lately gained over those haughty enemies, but the great victories of Pyrrhus, Hannibal, and the Gauls. He represented to them the actual situation of Rome in her difficult struggle with the Italian Rebels, and torn in pieces by domestic divisions. He concluded from thence, (*a*) that it was necessary to seize the occasion for augmenting their own strength at their expence, “least, added he, if we continue quiet, whilst they are employed, we should find more difficulty to sustain their efforts, when they are free and disengaged from all they have now upon their hands. For we are not to enquire now, whether war is to be made with them; but whether we shall take our time, or wait theirs.”

From thence he goes on to enumerate all the injuries pretended to be done them by the

(*a*) Utendum igitur occasione, & rapienda incrementa virium: ne si illis occupatis quieverint, mox adversus vacuos & quietos majus negotium habeant. Non enim quæri, an capienda sint arma, sed utrùm suâ potius occasione an illorum.

Romans, and which, in his sense, were equivalent to a declaration of war: Phrygia and Paphlagonia taken from him by them; and *Cappadocia*, which he had conquered, and from which they had expelled his son. “ They (*a*) “ have torn from me my conquest, says he, “ they who have nothing, not acquired by “ arms.” He concludes this detail with the insults done him in the last place by Nicomedes, in so attacking him out of wantonness, and without cause. “ For, (*b*) adds he, it is not the “ pretended injuries Kings have done them, “ it is their strength and majesty they aim at. “ It is hence they oppressed Eumenes, de- “ throned his son Aristonicus, and made an “ implacable (*c*) war on the grandson of the “ great King Masinissa, the unfortunate Ju- “ gurtha, in whom they shewed so little re- “ spect for the memory of his grandfather, “ that they ignominiously exhibited him as a “ sight in their triumph, and afterwards made “ him perish miserably in a prison. Such is “ the hatred they have declared for all Kings,

(*a*) Raptam sibi esse victoriam ejus [Cappadociæ] ab illis quorum nihil est nisi bello quæsitum.

(*b*) Quippe non delicta Regum illos, sed vires ac majestatem insequi.

(*c*) Cum hujus [Masinissæ] nepote bellum modo in Africa gestum adeò inexpiabile, ut ne victum quidem memoriæ avi donarent, quin carcerem ac triumphî spectaculum experiretur. Hanc illos Regibus omnibus legem odiorum dixisse, scilicet quia

ipsi tales Reges habuerint, quorum etiam nominibus erubescant, aut pastores Aboriginum, aut haruspices Sabinorum, aut exules Corinthiorum, aut servos vernasque Tuscorum, aut, quod honoratissimum nomen fuit inter hæc, superbos. Atque ut ipsi ferunt conditores suos lupæ uberibus alitos, sic omnem illum populum luporum animos, inexplebiles sanguinis atque imperii, divitiarumque avidos ac jejunos, habere.

1. Romu-
lus.

2. Numa

3. Tarqui-
nius Pri-
ncus.

4. Servius

Tullius

5. Tarqui-
nius Su-
perbus.

“ undoubtedly because themselves had only
 “ Kings, whose names made them blush,
 “ 1 Aboriginal Shepherds, 2 Sabine Augurs,
 “ 3 Corinthian Exiles, 4 Tuscan Slaves, or
 “ lastly, 5 the Superbs, the most honourable
 “ and distinguished name of them all. They
 “ have reason to relate with pleasure, that their
 “ founders were suckled by a wolf; for that
 “ People are a People of wolves, insatiable
 “ of blood and slaughter, and always greedy
 “ to excess of riches and empire.”

To this odious picture which he gave of the Romans, Mithridates opposed a magnificent display of his own high nobility, which on his father's side he traced back to Cyrus and Darius: and by the female line, to * Seleucus Nicator, Founder of the Kingdom of Syria and Alexander the Great: of the greatness of the nations subject to him, who had never experienced the yoke of a foreign power; and his exploits against unconquerable States, as the Scythians, who before him had never known a victor.

And lastly, he flattered his soldiers with the hopes of the rich spoils of Asia, of which (a) he extolled the mildness of the climate, the fertility of the soil, the multitude and beauty of the cities, “ inasmuch, said he, that I lead
 “ you less to a war, than to a perpetual festi-
 “ val; and in respect to this enterprize, you

* *Mithridates's great-grandmother was the daughter of Seleucus Callinicus King of Syria.*

(a) *Nam neque cœlo Asiæ esse temperatius aliud, nec*

solo fertilius, nec urbium multitudine amœnius: magnamque temporis partem, non ut militiam, sed ut festum diem acturos, bello dubium facili magis an uberi.

“ can

“ can have only one doubt, whether it be
 “ most easy, or most advantageous.”

This discourse, which breathes hatred and contempt for the Romans, and at the same time assurance of conquering, was not an empty rhodomontade of Mithridates: the effects proved it the reverse. All either gave way before his arms, or courted his alliance. He subjected Phrygia, Mysia, Asia, properly so called, Lycia, Pamphylia, the coast of Ionia, in a word, all the country extending quite to the sea-coast: and, in order that nothing might be wanting to his glory, two Roman Generals fell into his hands, and became his prisoners.

I have said before, that Oppius had retired to Laodicea. To make himself master of that Roman's person, it cost Mithridates only the trouble of sending an Herald to promise the inhabitants impunity, if they would deliver up Oppius. He was immediately seized, and carried with his lictors to the King of Pontus, who inflicted no ill treatment upon him, but carried him about every where in his train, exhibiting with pride, and in derision of the Roman greatness, a Roman General in captivity.

Aquillius was not so gently used. As he was at the head of the commission, and the principal author of the war, Mithridates had a personal hatred for him. For that reason that unfortunate General, who was sick at Mitylene, having been delivered up to him by the (a) Lesbians, there was no kind of indignity nor outrage,

(a) Mitylene was the capital Island itself, which is now of the Island of Lesbos, and called Metelin.
 has given its name to the

that the King of Pontus did not make him suffer. He was laden with chains, whipped with rods, led about every where upon an ass, and in that condition forced to make himself known to all that saw him, and to cry out from time to time, that he was Aquillius. On other occasions, fastened by a chain to a Bastarnian five cubits high, he was obliged to follow that Barbarian's horse on foot. And lastly, Mithridates having carried him to Pergamus, caused melted gold to be poured into his mouth, to reproach his avidity, and that of the Romans in general. Thus did that insatiable man pay the price of his oppressions and injustices, and seemed to have been preserved from the severity of the Judges, by the eloquence of Antonius, only to suffer greater and more severe punishments.

Athen. v. 13. Plin. xxxiii. 3. Appian. Mithridates visited his new conquest, and was received every where with the most soothing acclamations. The Ephesians distinguished themselves above the rest by singular marks of their hatred for the Romans, as we shall say below; for which they were soon after severely punished.

He married Moxima. Plut. in Lucull. It was in this progress, that Mithridates having taken Stratonicea, saw the virtuous Moxima, whom the Euripides of France has rendered so famous by his Tragedy. Ambition did not so wholly engross the heart of that Prince, as to exclude love. Struck with Moxima's beauty, he sent her (a) fifteen thousand pieces of gold, expecting by that unworthy gratuity to triumph over her virtue. But she

(a) Above two hundred and thirty-four pounds of gold Avoirdupois.

refused

refused his present, and rejected all his solicitations. Mithridates was reduced to marry her in the most solemn manner, and to give her the title of Queen, with the diadem.

When the news of what passed in Asia came to Rome, they did not deliberate a moment on the measures it was necessary to take. The war was resolved, notwithstanding the extreme distress of the Commonwealth on the occasion of the revolt of the Italian States, which was not yet well appeased. Sylla, as we have said, was charged with the war against Mithridates. But, whilst the civil discords detained that General in Italy, Mithridates had full time, both to extend his conquests, and deluge Asia with Roman blood.

For it was at this time that he committed that horrid massacre, which will render his name detestable for ever: he sent orders to all the Governors of provinces and cities subject to him, that on a certain day fixed, which was to be the same universally, they should put all the Romans and Italians in Asia to the sword, men, women, children, and freedmen. The same decree ordered, that their bodies should not have burial; that their estates should be divided between those who should kill them and the King; and that such as should endeavour to conceal or inter them, should be fined; and on the contrary, rewards granted to such as should discover them, liberty to slaves, half their debts to debtors, and so on to others.

The manner in which this bloody order was executed, proves, as Appian observes, that the revolt of Asia was less the effect of the fear of the arms of Mithridates, than of hatred

Tac. IV. for the Romans. The Asiatics applied them-
 Ann. 14. selves in murdering them with incredible fury
 and barbarity. They were torn out of the
 most sacred asylums: the hands of such as
 embraced the statues were cut off; the chil-
 dren were killed before their mothers faces,
 and they themselves massacred with their hus-
 bands. And this cruelty was universal. Of all
 those who acknowledged Mithridates, only the
 people of the small Island of Cos spared the
 unhappy Romans, and permitted them to take
 refuge in the temple of Æsculapius.

Rutilius
escapes.
 Cic pro
 Rabir.
 Post. c. 17. In this slaughter perished fourscore thousand
 Romans. Some however escaped or disguised
 themselves, and amongst the rest, the famous
 Rutilius, who was then at Smyrna, in banish-
 ment, as we have related elsewhere. He quit-
 ted the Roman robe, and put on a Grecian
 habit: and that disguise, and perhaps the
 respect he had acquired by the integrity of
 his manners, saved his life in so imminent a
 danger.

Horrid cal-
umny of
Theophras-
tus against
Rutilius.
 Plut in
 Pomp. The regard for virtue does not admit us to
 pass over in silence the atrocious calumny, with
 which a mercenary writer had endeavoured to
 blacken the reputation of that irreproachable
 man. Theophranes, who was attached to Pom-
 pey, had advanced, that it was by the counsel
 of Rutilius, Mithridates had formed the design
 of the bloody massacre, of which we are speak-
 ing. He was for revenging in that manner
 the memory of his Patron's * Father, of whom
 Rutilius in his Memoirs had said abundance of
 ill with too good foundation. But by that

* *Pompeius Strabo.* See what is said of him in the preced-
 ing book.

senseless imputation Theophanes gained nothing but the reputation of a calumniator and of a venal pen; without hurting so unblemished a virtue as that he attacked, and without lessening the ignominy of the person he intended to revenge.

The cruelties of the Asiatics to the Romans Appian, did not long remain unpunished. Mithridates himself soon gave them cause to repent it, by the violent tyranny he exerted over them. And Sylla afterwards, when victorious, treated them so as to teach them, that the Romans were to be respected even in their greatest disgraces.

Amongst all the cities, whether of the Terra Firma, or the Islands of Asia, only two continued faithful to the Romans, Magnesia and Rhodes. Few circumstances relating to the first are come down to us. But we are more obliged to History in respect to Rhodes, famous in all times, both for talents and virtues, till the slavery, in which it has groaned during more than the two last centuries under the Turks, deprived it of the means of sustaining its ancient glory. On the present occasion, the island and city of Rhodes served as an asylum for a great number of Romans, and amongst the rest for L. Cassius, Proconsul of Asia. *The Rhodians continue faithful to the Romans.*

Mithridates, not to leave his conquest imperfect, resolved to reduce that small State by force, which was almost the only one that resisted him. He came at first to the isle of Cos, not far from Rhodes. And, as his approach did not render the Rhodians more docile to his will, he ordered his fleet to repair thither, which was very numerous. The Rhodians came out to meet it with courage: but the inequality of number was so great, that *Mithridates besieges Rhodes in person, and is obliged to raise the siege.*

all that ability, aided by valour, could do, was to prevent the Rhodian fleet from being surrounded. It entered the port, which care was taken to shut up with chains: and the Rhodians, who by way of precaution had destroyed their suburbs, to prevent the enemy from making lodgments in them, prepared to repel the attacks of Mithridates from their walls.

That Prince had not yet his land forces with him, and his naval ones, whom he landed, having always been worsted in the skirmishes, that had passed around the city, the besieged resumed courage, keeping their ships always in readiness to fall upon the enemy, when occasion should offer. In consequence a sea-fight ensued, in which the Rhodians had all the advantage, notwithstanding their inferior number. In the mean time the land troops of Mithridates arrived, in transports of different burthen: and as they were forced by the violence of the wind to pass in sight of the city, instead of anchoring at the place assigned them, the besieged made their fleet go out of the port; and taking advantage of the disorder occasioned both by the storm and the difficulty of landing, they took, sunk, and burnt some of the enemy's ships, and returned victorious. Mithridates having then all his forces, both of sea and land, gave assaults, and attempted surprize, but without effect. He was reduced to raise the siege; and the Rhodians, besides the glory of being faithful to their Allies, had also that of having been the first in stopping the torrent, which had spread over all Asia.

Cic II. in Verr. 159. In my opinion, they also deserved praises for their moderation in respect to the statue of Mithridates, which they suffered to keep its place

place in the midst of their city, whilst that Prince was attacking them with the utmost violence, and they found no small difficulty in making their defence. Cicero, from whom we have this fact, observes, that this conduct of the Rhodians seems inconsistent, and that it was not natural to make war with the person, and spare the statue. But the Rhodians themselves, to whom he made that objection, answered him in the first place, that it was a received opinion with all the Greeks, that Religion did not admit the throwing down of statues once erected, even of men. They added a second reflection, no less just; that they had * made a distinction of times; that they had undoubtedly a right to repel Mithridates, when become their enemy; but that respect ought to be had to a statue erected at a time, when that Prince was the friend of their Commonwealth.

-During this siege, two circumstances give us occasion to remark in Mithridates a disposition to revenge, and gratitude for services rendered him. In the sea fight we have mentioned, whilst Mithridates made his ship move sometimes to one place, and sometimes to another, to encourage his people, or give them aid, a vessel of his fleet, belonging to the Isle of Chio, without doubt by the unskillfulness of the navigators, ran foul of his, and put it in some danger; the King, in a rage, caused the pilot and mate to be hanged, and afterwards extended his wrath to the whole Isle of Chio, as we shall say in its place. This rigour is un-

Two remarkable circumstances of the character of Mithridates

* Cum statua se ejus habuisse rationem temporis quo posita esset; cum homine verò, quo bellum gereret atque hostis esset.

Val Max.
V. 2.

doubtedly to be condemned. But we cannot forbear praising him much for what he did in respect to Laonicus, a faithful subject, who had testified great zeal for his Prince on dangerous occasions. This Laonicus having been taken prisoner during the siege, Mithridates, to obtain only his liberty, restored all the Rhodian prisoners in his camp.

*Measures
taken by
Mithri-
dates for
passing the
war, and
invading
Greece.
Appian.*

When he had been reduced to abandon his enterprize against Rhodes, he retired to Pergamus, leaving Pelopidas in Lycia with an army to reduce the city of Patara, and some others, in those parts, that refused to submit to him. During his residence at Pergamus, divided between business and pleasures, though the charms of Monima engrossed much of his time, he however took care to augment his troops, to lay up all kinds of provisions and ammunitions, and above all, to provide for the security of his conquests within them, by rewarding his friends and adherents, and distributing treasures, cities, and states amongst them; by removing domestic enemies; by suppressing conspiracies formed against his person; and by making a strict enquiry after all those who retained any attachment for the Romans, and whom he considered for that reason as capable of plotting in their favour, and against the new government.

Plut. in
Sylla.

At the same time he spared no pains for augmenting his power, his avidity increasing according to the natural character of the human mind, in proportion to his acquisitions. Master of Asia, he formed the design of invading Greece. However he did not go thither in person. Pergamus was a centre to him, from which he governed all his vast monarchy, and directed

directed his new enterprizes. One of his sons by his order resided in the ancient dominions of his ancestors. Another was sent into Thrace and Macedonia with an army: and several of his Generals, of whom the principal was Arche-laus, went by sea to Greece, and began by reducing the Cyclades, the island of Eubœa, and all the other isles in those seas, as far as the Promontory of Malea. The city of Athens itself submitted to Mithridates; and that Prince was indebted for so important a conquest to a miserable Sophist, called Aristion.

This man of obscure birth, the son, as was said, of a female slave, and admitted by favour into the number of the citizens of Athens, was one of those kind of persons born to impose upon the multitude by a pompous out-
History of Aristion, the Sophist, who makes Mithridates master of Athens. Posiden. apud Athen. V. 13.
 fide, a popular and emphatical eloquence, and a daring presumption, which never fails of dazzling the vulgar. He had taken care to embellish his talents, and to cover his vices with the mask of Philosophy. Every body knows the credit and figure annexed to the name of Philosopher in Athens. Some say he had been formed in the school of Aristotle; others in that of Epicurus. However that were, he was deputed by the Athenians to Mithridates, who, finding him a proper instrument for his designs, gave him the most favourable reception, with the view of conciliating, by his means, the affection of those that sent him.

Aristion seconded the King's views to a wonder, writing letters to Athens, in which he extolled the power of Mithridates, his magnificence and liberality. And as the Athenians had given the Romans some subject of discontent, which is not related in History, but
 which

which must have been great, as a fine had been laid upon them, and their magistrates forbade to exercise their functions. Aristion promised the Athenians, that if they would embrace the King's party, they would not only be exempt from the fine laid on them by the Romans, but the popular government should be re-established, and all the citizens in particular should derive infinite advantages from the alliance of so powerful and generous a Prince. Nothing more was wanting to turn the heads of the People of Athens, always unsteady, capricious and inconstant: and the most prudent, and principal citizens wisely chose to quit a city, that was bent upon destruction, and retire to Rome.

Cic. in
Brut.
n. 306,

Appian.

Polidon.

In the mean time Mithridates sent his fleets to Greece: and the island and temple of Delos, which, till then, without walls and arms, had found an assured defence in the respect for Religion alone, having been plundered by Metrophanes, one of the King's Generals, Aristion, with those sacred treasures, and an escort of two thousand men given him by Archelaus, returned to Athens. The follies committed by the People for the reception of this illustrious personage are incredible. As he had been driven by a tempest on the coast of Carystos in Eubœa, ships of war were sent to convoy him, and also a chair, or kind of throne, supported by feet of silver. When he arrived, the whole city ran out to meet him. Particularly those consecrated to the worship of Bacchus did not fail to pay all kinds of honours to the Ambassador of the new Bacchus. (We have said above, that name had been given to Mithridates.) Nothing passed but acclamations,

tions, sacrifices, and libations, to which the People were invited by the voice of an Herald, as in the most joyous and sacred ceremonies.

Aristion having taken up his lodgings in one of the finest houses of the city, appeared the next day in publick, in a superb habit, and with a ring, on which was engraved the image of Mithridates. The throng was as great as on the preceding day: People were crushed to death in the streets, especially near him, tho' he was surrounded with armed men, who by office, and to please the multitude, were appointed as his guards, and attended him every where. With this equipage he ascended the Tribunal, from which the Roman Magistrates used to harangue the People of Athens; and he made a speech full of boasts, excessive praises of Mithridates, and wild presages of the future exploits of that Prince, which were to annihilate the Romans; and concluded with exhorting the multitude to give a certain form to their government, that the Roman Senate was for abolishing. These last words were only a snare. The ambitious Sophist's aim was, to cause the Sovereign power in Athens to be conferred on him. The People were caught by it, and did not fail to proclaim Aristion Prætor. He immediately made them sensible of what they were to expect from his government. For, after having thanked them for the honour they had done him, he added: "As you have elected me your
" Chief, it is but just that I should have as
" much power alone, as you have collective-
" ly." And in order to take instant possession of his office, he himself appointed the Collegues he thought fit to have.

The

The rest of his conduct was of a piece with this beginning, and became a tyranny in all the forms. The richest, and most worthy persons, as never fails to happen on the like occasions, were the most exposed to violence. He charged them with being the secret adherents of the Romans; and under that pretext, put some of them to death, and sent others to Mithridates. To be accused and condemned, were one and the same thing. For, that they might not escape him, he made himself their judge. Many, to save themselves from persecution, fled from the city. But he caused them to be pursued; and such as were taken, were put to death in torments. He posted guards at the gates of the city, to prevent any one from going out without his leave. In a word, the miserable Athenians were a kind of prisoners in their own houses, in which they were obliged to shut themselves up at sun-set, without permission to depart after that time, even with a torch. It is easy to suppose, that in the midst of these violences, he did not forget to enrich himself. Confiscations of estates, and rapine of every kind, raised him such great sums, that it was said he filled whole wells with money.

This tyranny, exercised by one who called himself a Philosopher, reflects no great honour on Philosophy: and Appian on the occasion of Aristion, mentions here the thirty tyrants of Athens so famous in History, of whom several were the disciples of Socrates. But Philosophy is not accountable for the crimes of those who make profession of it: the best things are abused; and it would be unjust to ascribe the vices of persons to a discipline innocent and useful in itself.

Thus

Thus, by the ministration of Aristion, Mithridates became master of Athens: and Archelaus made it a kind of place of arms, from whence, extending his influence on all sides, he separated Lacedæmon, Achaia, Bæotia, and several other States of Greece from the Romans, and drew them over to the King's party. At the same time Metrophanes, another of Mithridates's Generals, who kept the sea with a fleet, attempted a descent in Thessaly, on the side of Demetrias. And when we remember, that Mithridates had another land army, destined to enter Thrace and Macedonia, we shall conceive that the enterprize was exceedingly well conducted on his side, and that Greece, attacked at so many parts, might easily be taken from the Romans.

Sylla had not yet time to arrive. But Brut- *Bruttius*
tius Sura, detached with a body of troops by *Sura stops*
C. Sentius, Proconsul of Macedonia, came to *the progress*
the aid of Greece. He was a very brave man, *of Mithri-*
and a good soldier. He began by driving Me- *dates's*
trophanes out of Thessaly, and obliged him to *Generals.*
remove from the coast. From thence he moved to Bæotia, where, having found Archelaus with Aristion near Chæronea, he gave them battle three days together: and if he did not entirely defeat them, he at least prevented them from making any progress. Things were in this State, when Lucullus, Sylla's Quæstor, came and informed him, that he must quit a province which did not belong to him, and which had been given to Sylla by the Senate. Bruttius did not hesitate a moment; and no less faithful in his obedience to the laws of his country, than full of valour on military occasions, he retired into Macedonia, and rejoined his General.

S E C T.

S E C T. II.

Sylla goes to Greece. Supposed omen of the bad success of Mithridates. Sylla forms the siege of Athens. He plunders the temples of Olympia, Epidaurus, and Delphi. Comparison between the conduct of Sylla and that of the ancient Roman Generals. Invektives of the Athenians against Sylla and his wife. Vigorous defence of Archelaus. Famine in Athens. Aristion regards nothing but divesting himself, and will hearken to no terms of surrendering. The city is taken by force. Sylla is resolved at first to demolish it, but suffers himself to be dissuaded. Aristion is taken in the citadel, and put to death. The Piræus is taken and burnt. Sylla marches against the Generals of Mithridates, Battle of Charonea. New army sent by Mithridates into Greece. It is defeated before Orchomenus, Lucullus assembles a fleet, and enters the Ægean Sea. The Tetrarchs of the Gallo-Græcians put to death by order of Mithridates. The Isle of Chio treated cruelly. Revolt of several cities of Asia, and new cruelties of Mithridates. Negotiation opened by Archelaus, at an interview with Sylla. Flaccus lands in Greece. His character, and that of Fimbria his Lieutenant. Misunderstanding between Flaccus and Fimbria, and murder of Flaccus. Sylla advances towards the Hellespont. Suspicion conceived of Archelaus. Answer of Mithridates. Haughtiness of Sylla. Fimbria reduces Mithridates to extreme danger. Mithridates resolves to conclude a peace with Sylla. Their interview, Sylla justifies himself to his army for having made peace with Mithridates. He pursues Fimbria, and reduces him to kill him-

Himself. Dispositions of Sylla after the victory. He gives his soldiers great licence. He lays a fine of twenty thousand talents upon Asia. The Pirates ravage the coasts of Asia. Preference given by Sylla of the war with Mithridates to his personal interests. He prepares to return to Italy.

CN. OCTAVIUS

L. CORNELIUS CINNA.

A. R. 665.

Ant. C. 87.

SYLLA had set out from Italy about the beginning of the Consulship of Cinna and Octavius. He carried with him only five Legions with some other troops in no great number. For the expences of so great a war only nine thousand pounds in weight of gold had been given him, amounting to about one hundred and twelve thousand four hundred and ninety-six ounces of our weight. In order to raise him that sum, it had even been necessary to sell some ground and buildings consecrated by Numa to the worship of the gods, and to the support of Priests and Sacrifices.

Sylla goes to Greece. Appian. Plut. in Sylla.

It is said, that at the time Sylla set out from Italy, Mithridates, who was then at Pergamus, had very sinister omens: amongst others, that a victory, which was to be let down by machines to place a crown upon the head of that Prince, when it was very near him, fell, and that the crown rolled along the Theatre and broke to pieces. This accident, which had nothing that was not very natural in it, and which only proved the Artist's want of skill, was considered as a fatal omen, which made the whole Assembly tremble, and daunted Mithridates himself. As for us, let us content ourselves

Supposed omen of the bad success of Mithridates.

A. R. 665. with observing from this little event, in what
 A.D. C. 87. manner a thing conceived with refinement of
 flattery to gratify the King of Pontus's vanity,
 served only to affect and mortify him.

*Sylla forms
 the siege
 of Athens.*

Sylla soon gave him different causes for dis-
 quiet. As soon as he arrived in Greece, where
 he received some reinforcements of Ætolian
 and Thessalian troops, he marched directly
 towards Athens, resolving to besiege and take
 that important place from Mithridates. This
 was no easy enterprize. The city of Athens
 was strong, besides which it had its Port, the
 famous Piræus, that was a separate place very
 well fortified. The city and port were joined
 by a double wall which secured their communi-
 cation. These walls and port were the work
 of Pericles. Sylla had therefore two sieges to
 carry on at once, and to attack at the same time
 two places well fortified and defended by nu-
 merous garrisons. The Piræus in particular
 threatened a vigorous resistance. For Arche-
 laus, the most able of the Generals of Mithri-
 dates, had shut himself up in it: Aristion com-
 manded in the city. Sylla was not discouraged
 by so many difficulties. He attacked the
 Piræus in person, and at the same time made
 part of his army besiege the city. Plutarch
 says, that he might have contented himself with
 blocking up the city, and that he might cer-
 tainly have taken it by famine. But the news,
 which he received from Rome and Italy, where
 all things were in confusion, and his party were
 crushed, obliged him to make haste: and not-
 withstanding all his efforts, the siege was spun
 out to a great length.

He at first attempted scaling, though the
 walls of the Piræus were forty cubits [ten
 fathom]

fathom] high. But that method not succeeding, he was obliged to have recourse to works and machines. Every thing was employed; rams, towers, covered galleries, terrasses raised against the walls, mines, counter-mines, and catapultas, that discharged great stones, and pieces of lead. He found upon the spot most of the materials necessary in the construction and reparation of those works, having beat down the walls of communication between the Piræus and the city, and cut down all the trees of the Academy and Lycæum. As to other provisions, ten thousand carriages drawn by mules, were continually passing between Thebes and Athens with them. Immense sums were necessary for supporting such prodigious expences. Sylla made no difficulty to plunder the most sacred Temples of Greece, and caused the richest and most magnificent presents consecrated to Jupiter and Æsculapius, to be brought to him from Olympia and Epidaurus.

A. R. 665.
Ant. C. 87.

He plunders the temples of Olympia, Epidaurus, and Delphi.

He wrote also to the *Amphictyones at Delphi, that it was proper to send him the treasures of the god. “For, said he, either I shall keep them, and they will be safer in my hands than in the temple, or, if I am obliged to use them, I shall at least restore the value.” He charged with the execution of these orders a Greek, called Caphis, in whom he reposed confidence; and commanded him to bring every thing away, taking each piece by weight. Caphis went to Delphi, highly afflicted with his commission, and deplored with the Amphic-

* Concerning the Amphictyones, See the Ancient History, Vol. IV. towards the end.

A. R. 665.
 Ant. C. 87.

tyones the sad necessity, to which he was reduced. He even took advantage of a report which was spread, that the sound of the god's lyre had been heard, which was in the sanctuary: and whether he believed this pretended prodigy, which, if real, might have been a stratagem of the Priest's, or was in hopes of giving Sylla some scruples of conscience, he wrote him the fact. Sylla only laughed at it, and answered, "that playing upon the lyre was
 " a sign of joy, and not of discontent; and
 " consequently, that he might take every thing
 " with confidence, as the god himself seemed to
 " bestow his treasures with pleasure." It was therefore necessary to obey, and send to the Roman camp all the riches of the temple of Delphi. Precautions however were taken to prevent the affair from making too much noise. But it was not possible to conceal the taking away of a ton of money, which was so large and heavy, that, to remove it, there was a necessity for taking it to pieces. Sylla received these treasures with great joy; and so far from having any remorse on that head, he said, by way of jest, "that he could not doubt being
 " victorious, as the gods themselves paid his
 " troops."

Dio apud
 Vales.

*Comparison
 between
 Sylla's con-
 duct and
 that of the
 ancient
 Roman
 Generals.*

The Amphictyones, on the contrary, who had been obliged to have a part in so odious a robbery, called to mind, says Plutarch, the ancient Roman Generals, Flamininus, Acilius Glabrio, Paulus Æmilius, who, when they came to Greece, to make war upon the Kings of Macedonia and Syria, far from plundering the temples, had enriched them with new offerings, the proofs of their religious veneration. But,
 adds

adds the (a) Historian, those Generals of the ancient times, who commanded, with virtue and legal authority, armies composed of men accustomed to live with frugality, and to obey their just commanders with submission; and who besides were as simple in their expences, as noble and magnanimous by the elevation of their sentiments, made only such moderate use of money, as real occasions directed: and they would have thought it more shameful for them to flatter their soldiers, than to fear the enemy. In Sylla's time things were much changed. The Generals, who had no thoughts but of carrying the first rank by force, and not of raising themselves to it by merit, and standing more in need of arms against each other, than against the enemies of the State, were reduced to make their court to the troops, instead of commanding them with authority; and purchasing their service by donations that favoured their pleasures, they set to sale, and rendered venal, perhaps without thinking of it, the whole Commonwealth; making themselves the slaves of the meanest citizens, in order to domineer over those who deserved the most esteem. This disorder was the source of all the evils that afflicted Rome in these unhappy times; and Sylla ought

A. R. 665.
Ant. C. 87.

(a) ΑΛΛ' ἑκεῖνοι μὲν, ἄν-
δρῶν τε σωφρόνων καὶ μεμαθηκό-
των σιωπῇ τοῖς ἄρχουσι παρέ-
χεν τὰς χεῖρας, ἠγούμενοι κατὰ
νόμον, αὐτοὶ τε ταῖς ψυχαῖς
βασίλικοι καὶ ταῖς δαπάναις
εὐτελεῖς ὄντες, μετρίοις ἐχρῶντο
καὶ τεταγμένοις ἀναλώμασι,
τὸ κολακάζειν τῆς στρατιώτας
αἰσχίον ἠγούμενοι τῇ δαδίῃ τῆς
πολεμίας. Οἱ δὲ τότε στρα-
τηγαὶ, βία τὸ πρωτεῖον καὶ ἐκ

ἀρετῇ κλιόμενοι, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπ'
ἀλλήλους δέοντες τῶν ὅπλων
ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς πολεμίας, ἠναγκάζοντο
δημαγωγεῖν ἐν τῇ στρατηγείᾳ,
εἰθ' ὡς εἰς τὰς ἡδυπαθείας τοῖς
στρατοῦμένοις ἀνήλικοι, ὠνέ-
μενοι τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν, ἔλαθον
ὡμιον ὅλῳ τὴν πατρίδα ποιήσαν-
τες, ἑαυτὰς τε δελεῖς τῶν κακί-
σων, ἐπὶ τῷ τῶν βελτιότων ἄρχειν.
Plut.

A. R. 665.
Ant. C. 87.

to be considered as the person that contributed most to it: for it was his constant maxim, to give with profusion to his troops, in order to ingratiate himself with, and bring over, those of his rivals. Thus corrupting the soldiers of the contrary party, of whom he made traitors, and his own troops by voluptuousness, he required immense sums of money for effecting his designs.

*Invectives
of the
Athenians
against
Sylla and
his wife.*

On the present occasion it was the desire of taking Athens, that made him lose all regard for sacred things. For this desire in him rose even to great passion: and to the public reasons were added, the motive of personal resentment and revenge; because Aristion, whose soul was made up of cruelty and insolence, caused him to be insulted from the walls by the most cutting invectives. Sylla was of an high colour, and spotted with a deep red in several parts of his face, which the Raillyers of Athens compared to a mulberry sprinkled with meal. They did not spare even his wife Metella, who was actually in his camp, a Lady entirely worthy of respect, both for her birth and virtue; and she was so much esteemed, that Sylla having married her when he was just elected Consul, the People, who had judged him worthy of the first office of the Commonwealth, believed him scarce worthy of being Metella's husband. And Sylla in effect had always the highest regard for her; nor could the Athenians offend him in a more tender point, than by insulting his wife.

*Figorous
defence of
Archelaus.*

In this manner the Athenians fought: trifling discourse and shallow pleasantries were their usual arms. But Archelaus defended the Piræus with vigour. As he had a great number

ber of troops, and even more than Sylla, who A. R. 665.
Ant. C. 87. besieged him, he made frequent sallies with great bodies, that became almost pitched battles. On one of these occasions, the besieged having burnt one of the covered galleries of the Romans, and all the machines under it, Sylla punished the cohorts and centurions, that guarded it, severely, and laid an ignominious penalty upon them, which was to continue till they had attended their disgrace by some action of valour. It was not long before that happened: and in another sally the same troops having done wonders, and repulsed the enemy when almost victorious, they were reinstated in all their rights. Archelaus in this last action gave proofs of his bravery, perhaps beyond what suited the Governor of a besieged place. He not only came out with his troops, but seeing them pressed, and upon the point of flying, he endeavoured to revive their courage, and led them on again to battle, and persisted so obstinately in that design, that the gates of the place being shut, whilst he continued without, it was necessary to draw him up with cords upon the walls.

What gave Archelaus a great advantage for holding out, was, that he had the sea open, and consequently could receive provisions, ammunition, and fresh troops as often as he had occasion. Sylla, to deprive him of that resource, dispatched Lucullus, with orders to go to the Kings and States in the alliance of Rome, to demand ships, and assemble a fleet. Lucullus met with many obstacles and delays; and before he could execute his commission, Sylla had time to compleat his enterprize.

During the whole course of the siege, he had often received very good and useful intelligence

A. R. 665. from the Piræus. Two slaves, who were shut up
 Ant. C. 87. in the place, no doubt in hopes of a great re-
 ward, wrote upon balls of lead all that they
 could collect of the designs formed by the be-
 sieged, and then threw those balls with slings
 into the camp of the Romans. Sylla more
 than once made use of these informations, and
 particularly to prevent Archelaus from sending
Famine in convoys into the city, where the famine was
Athens. excessive. A measure of wheat, containing
 little more than four bushels, was sold for a
 thousand drachma's (about twenty-five pounds).
 Many were reduced to gather the herbage, that
 grew about the walls, or to boil leather and
 shoes in water for a miserable subsistence.
 There were even some, who supported them-
 selves upon human flesh, and ate the dead bo-
 dies, with which the city abounded.

Aristion re- But what aggravated the sense of the publick
gards no- calamities to excess, was, that whilst the citizens
ting but were perishing with famine, the tyrant Aristion
diverting feasted, and passed whole days in drinking,
himself, taking his pleasure, and diverting himself with
and will his inmates. For four days he caused a *chanix*
broken to of barley to be distributed to each citizen, that
no terms of is a measure which scarce exceeds the tenth part
surrender- of a bushel, a nourishment hardly sufficient for
ing. poultry; and the Priestess of Minerva having
 asked of him a very small measure of wheat,
 he sent her some pepper: However, he would
 not hear a word of putting an end to so hor-
 rible a calamity, by surrendering to the Ro-
 mans; and the Priests and Senators having
 come to him to beg, that he would take com-
 passion on the city, and ask to capitulate, he
 ordered them to be fired upon. At length he
 resolved to depute two or three of his loose
 companions

companions to Sylla, who, half drunk, instead of discourse suitable to the conjuncture, amused themselves with boasting the glory of Athens, and with citing Theseus, Codrus, and the trophies of Marathon and Salamina. The Roman General heard them with the utmost contempt : Go, replied he, *you happy and glorious mortals ; repeat all this fine talk in your schools. As to me, I did not come hither to learn your History, but to reduce rebels.*

In this manner did the miserable Aristion compleat the ills he had brought upon Athens, The city is taken by storm. by reducing that unfortunate city to be taken by force. For some old men of the city, in talking about the present state of affairs, and observing, that the tyrant was extremely weak in not carefully guarding a certain place, where the enemy might enter with ease, their discourse was caught up by spies, and related to the Roman General, who did not neglect the information. He went himself to examine the place mentioned, and having found it to be really very weak, he caused it to be attacked in the night, and carried it. When his troops were got into the place, he caused a great length of the wall, between two gates, to be demolished, and then marched in with all his troops in order of battle, with the sound of trumpets and the other instruments of war. The city was abandoned to be plundered, and to all the fury of the troops. The slaughter was so great, that it was computed, not by the number of the dead, but the ground overflowed with blood, which was still shewn in Plutarch's time. And beside those, who perished by the sword of the conquerors, there were many who killed themselves to avoid surviving their country,

A. R. 665.
Ant. C. 87.

country, which they did not doubt, but Sylla would order to be destroyed. Athens was taken on the first of March, of the year in which Marius having made himself Consul for the seventh time, at the end of seventeen days was succeeded by L. Valerius Flaccus.

A. R. 666.
Ant. C. 86.

C. MARIUS VII. and after his death

L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.

L. CORNELIUS CINNA II.

*Sylla is
resolved at
first to d-
molish it,
but suffers
himself
to be dis-
suaded.*

Sylla, who was naturally excessive in his anger and revenge, was but too much inclined to demolish Athens. But some of the most illustrious Athenians, whom their fidelity for the Romans had reduced to banish themselves, throwing themselves at his feet, and conjuring him with tears to take compassion upon their unfortunate country, and all the Roman Senators, who were in his camp, joining with them in their request, he suffered himself to be prevailed upon; and after having praised the ancient Athenians, he concluded with saying, "That he pardoned a great number of enemies
" in regard to a small number of faithful
" allies, and the living in regard to the dead." The slaves were sold: the citizens had not only their lives spared, but the liberty of their persons. Sylla afterwards was well pleased with having acted with clemency in respect to so famous a city: and he considered his having been master of his passion on this occasion amongst the peculiar favours of the gods. The misfortunes of Athens concluded in effect with the siege: but it was with great difficulty that she raised her head after so rude a blow, and she

Plut.
Apoph.
Rom.

She did not recover her ancient splendor till
long after.

Aristion had rightly conceived that he had no favour to hope; and as soon as he saw the city taken he retired into the citadel. It was necessary to besiege him there: but at length the want of water and provisions having forced him to surrender, he received the just reward of his crimes, and was put to death, with all those who had been the instruments of his tyranny.

The Piræus, where Archelaus continued, still held out. That brave commander disputed the ground inch by inch, perpetually raising new works in the place of those demolished by the enemy. This, according to Florus, he executed six times : and it was not till after the sixth wall was taken by the Romans, whose valour augmented in proportion to difficulties, that Archelaus abandoned the Piræus, keeping however the post of Munychia upon the sea. Sylla, who had no fleet, did not attempt to attack him there ; besides which, other affairs called him elsewhere. However, before he quitted Attica, he burnt the Piræus, without sparing those so much boasted Arsenals, which were capable of containing all that was necessary for the equipment of a thousand ships. He had so few forces, that not being able to garrison that place, it would not have been prudent to leave it in a condition to harbour the enemy again, whom he had driven out of it with so much difficulty. As soon therefore as he had secured himself behind, by the taking of Athens, and the destruction of the Piræus, he marched towards Boeotia, in order

The Piræus taken and burnt.

Sylla marches against the Generals of Mithridates.

A. R. 666. to meet the Generals of Mithridates, who ad-
Ant. C. 86. vanced against him by forced marches.

We have said that Mithridates had sent, under one of his sons called Arcathias, a numerous army to enter Greece by the way of Thrace and Macedonia. That army had been augmented by Thracian troops, who, under Dromichetes, a Prince of their blood royal, had joined Arcathias. This was a kind of torrent that deluged Macedonia, Epirus, and all the North of Greece. Arcathias dying of disease, Taxiles took upon him the command in his stead, and had entered Phocis, when Sylla set out from Attica. Taxiles had with him an hundred thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and ninety chariots armed with scythes. The Roman army was far from being numerous: it consisted only of sixteen thousand five hundred Romans, that is, of fifteen thousand infantry, and fifteen hundred horse; and with the aid furnished by different States of Greece, it did not amount to a third of the army of Mithridates.

Accordingly Plutarch observes, that many blamed Sylla's conduct in quitting Attica, a rough country, broken with vallies and mountains, to enter the plains of Bœotia, where the enemy's forces had all the room, that was necessary, for extending themselves. But a General must have more than one object in view. In the first place, Sylla had a supreme contempt for those Barbarians, and believed himself sure of beating them every where: in the second, he could not subsist in Attica, which was barren, and shut up on the side of the sea by the fleet of Archelaus. Lastly, he wanted to meet Hortensius, one of his Lieutenant-Generals, a
 brave

brave and enterprizing man, who was marching from Thessaly to join him with a small reinforcement, and who might easily be surrounded by the enemy. Sylla succeeded in every thing : he joined Hortensius, and incamped advantageously upon an eminence in the midst of a fruitful plain, at the foot of which ran a rivulet.

A. R. 666.
Ant. C. 86.

Notwithstanding the small number of Romans, Archelaus, who had repaired to the camp of Taxiles, would not hazard a battle. His plan was, to cut off the enemy's provisions, and to reduce him by protraction. But the other Generals, flushed by the superiority of their numbers, would not hearken to such wise counsel ; and drawing up their troops in battle, they covered the plains with men, arms, horses, and chariots. As this army was composed of many different nations, that spoke different languages, their different cries uniting together, had something terrible in them. Their very pomp and magnificence made a glitter, that was not without effect, and was capable of increasing dismay ; and those glaring arms adorned with ornaments of gold and silver, the lively colours of the Median and Scythian vests, intermingled with the lustre of polished steel and brass, emitted a radiance like flashes of lightning, which joined with the various motions of so many thousand men, dazzled the sight, and struck the mind with terror.

This object made an impression on the Romans : they closed up towards their camp, declining battle ; and Sylla, who was afraid to force them in their present discouragement, was obliged to suffer the derision and insults of the Barbarians. He was much affected with them ;

A. R. 666.
Ant. C. 86.

them; and however, nothing proved more to his advantage. For those troops, who were ill-disciplined, and having many commanders, obeyed none properly, grew more and more irregular, through the contempt they conceived for the Romans; and dispersing to plunder, whole bodies of them removed sometimes several days march from their camp. Not only the country felt these ravages, but towns were taken and plundered: and Sylla, in despair to see an ally's country destroyed without being able to prevent it, conceived an expedient to induce his soldiers to desire a battle. He set them at work to turn the course of the Cephissus, and to dig vast trenches, granting them neither exemption nor relaxation, and punishing such as behaved remissly with severity, in order that through disgust for these laborious works they might prefer dangers.

And this accordingly happened; for on the third day, whilst Sylla was visiting the works, they raised a cry to demand to be led on to battle. He affected not to incline to hear them, and observed, that their cry did not argue their desire to fight, but only their desire not to work. But as they continued to press, *Well*, said he, *if you are really for using your arms, there is a post, which it is necessary for us to occupy.* In saying those words he pointed to a steep hill, advantageous for the situation of a camp, towards which Archelaus was actually moving in order to seize it. Sylla prevented him, with the assistance of the ardor he had known how to excite in his troops.

Chæronæa, Plutarch's country, was then in great danger: for Archelaus having missed his aim, drew off directly for that city, in which there

there were no troops capable of its defence. A. R. 666.
Ant. C. 86.
A body of Chæronean troops served in the Roman army, whose officers, observing the danger of their country, apprized Sylla of it. He permitted them to go to the aid of it, and at the same time detached a Tribune at the head of a legion with that design, who executed his General's order with such expedition, that he arrived even before the troops of Chæronæa: and the aid was more expeditious than those who had occasion for assistance.

It was near this city that the battle was at last fought. Battle of
Chæronæa. The ground was advantageous for the Romans. Archelaus had quitted the plain, and was encamped in a post of difficult access, no doubt because he still intended to decline fighting. But whilst the view of placing himself so as to be secure from any attacks engrossed him, he drew two disadvantages upon himself; the first was, that in a broken country he could not make all his troops act together; and the second, that being entirely surrounded by precipices, if he should happen to be pushed, it was impossible for him to make a retreat, and his troops once giving way, had no room either to form themselves again, or to fall back in good order.

Sylla took the advantage of his enemy's fault; and having approached Chæronæa to call in the detachment he had sent thither, he marched directly up to the Barbarians, resolving to attack them, notwithstanding the difficulty of the places. One post occupied by the enemy, gave him pain: it was a very steep hill, which Plutarch calls Thurium. But it is a great advantage to a General to have the People of the country, in which he makes war, on his side.

Two

A. R. 666.
Ant. C. 86.

Two Chæronæan officers informed him, that they knew a secret way, by which they could ascend, without being perceived, to the top over the heads of the enemy; and that with a very small number of soldiers they would undertake to drive them from that post. Sylla after that assurance, drew up his army in battle, distributed the horse upon the two wings, taking upon himself the command of the right, and giving the left to Muræna. He formed a body of reserve, composed of a number of chosen cohorts, under the command of Sulpicius and Hortensius, to whom he recommended great vigilance to prevent the enemy from surrounding some part of his army, in effect of their multitude.

In the mean time the Barbarians also drew up in order of battle, endeavouring to extend themselves beyond the Romans, and to inclose them. That instant they heard the cries, and perceived the disorder of their troops, posted upon the hill Thurium, the two Chæronæans had executed their promise with bravery and success. The enemies in their surprize had made no defence, nor thought of any thing but flight. Three thousand of them perished, either by their own spears, in falling from the precipices, or by the swords of the victors. Of those who escaped into the plain, part were cut to pieces by Muræna, and the rest having thrown themselves upon the line of battle, put it into confusion, and considerably retarded the operations of their Generals. Sylla perceived this, and immediately crossing the space that separated him from the enemy, he posted himself so near their front ranks, that the waggons, armed with scythes, had not the room that was necessary for their

their motion and rapidity; so that they came on slowly, and were not capable of any effect. The Romans made a sport of repulsing them, and only laughing, called out for more with loud cries, as if they had been at a shew of chariot races in the Circus.

A. R. 666.
Ant. C. 86.

The infantry then engaged. The Barbarians were armed and drawn up in the Macedonian manner with long spears, and in a very deep phalanx. At the head of them the Romans found fifteen thousand slaves, made free, and armed by the order of Mithridates; so that a Centurion cried out, that they were in the *Saturnalia*. Every body knows, that those were festival days, during which, slaves enjoyed the privileges of liberty. Those slaves however fought better than could be expected from such kind of troops; and the Roman infantry would have found it difficult to break them, if a shower of arrows, discharged at a distance, had not disordered and disconcerted them.

Whilst this passed in the centre, Archelaus extended his right to surround Murena. Hortensius, who observed this movement, advanced with his reserved cohorts to take that General in flank. But Archelaus having made two thousand horse, that were with him, wheel about, put Hortensius into very great danger, and was very near cutting off his communication with the rest of the army, when Sylla, who carefully watched every thing, flew to his aid. Archelaus knew who it was, and immediately changing his design, attacked the right wing of the Romans, expecting to find no great difficulty with them in their General's absence: and at the same time Taxiles advanced against Murena. On the cries of the combatants, which

A. R. 665.
A. L. C. 86.

were heard on both sides at once, and were also multiplied by the ecchoes of the mountains, Sylla was in doubt for some time on which side to turn. But he presently determined to resume his post, and sent Hortensius, whom he had just disengaged, to Murena's aid. Sylla, on arriving at the right, found his troops in good order, and his presence encouraged them so much, that they immediately put the enemy to flight. He again repaired to the left, which he also found victorious. The two wings of the Barbarians being thus routed, the centre was easily forced, and the flight became general.

Most of them fled towards their camp, which was the only retreat they had. For, as we have observed, they were entirely surrounded with rocks and precipices. Archelaus, who had made thither with the first, persisted obstinately in the ill-timed endeavour to make them return to battle. They accordingly faced about. But being then pressed between the Romans, who pursued them, and the camp, that was closed against them; besides which, being in dismay, and disorder, and not being able to distinguish either their commanders or ensigns, they only made ineffectual efforts, and were soon obliged to turn their backs again, and to intreat to be admitted into their camp. Archelaus caused the gates of it to be opened; but too late. The Romans entered pellmell with them, made an horrible slaughter, took the camp, and rendered their victory compleat. Of that infinite multitude scarce ten thousand escaped to Chalcis with Archelaus: the rest either perished, or were taken prisoners. But what transcends all belief, is the little loss so great a victory cost the Romans. Sylla wrote in his Memoirs, that
he

he found only fourteen soldiers missing, and that even two of them returned in the evening. A. R. 666.
Ant. C. 86. Can one believe, that an hundred thousand men should suffer themselves to be put to the sword without killing more than twelve of the enemy? Should it be true, as was suspected, that Archelaus betrayed his master, and held intelligence with the Romans, the thing would still be improbable; and it is more natural to think, that Sylla, whose darling notion it was, to have himself considered as fortunate, has in this place been more studious of the marvellous, than of the true. And it is certain, that he was for having the very trophies he erected upon the field, evidence his good fortune as much as his ability: and it was for this reason, that he dedicated them not only to Mars and the goddess of Victory, but to Venus.

It was at this time, that he reimbursed the temples of Olympia and Delphi; but at the expence of the Thebans, half of whose territory he confiscated to the use of Jupiter and Apollo. He had soon an occasion of gaining a second victory, still more glorious than the former. For Mithridates, who had made immense levies, had an army in readiness of four-score thousand men, which he caused to set out under the command of Dorylaus, as soon as he received advice of the defeat at Chæronea. New army
sent into
Greece by
Mithri-
dates. The new General joined Archelaus at Chalcis, and they entered Bœotia together, from whence Sylla had set out for Thessaly, in order to meet Flaccus. This Flaccus was actually Consul, having been raised to that office by Cinna, after the death of Marius, as we have said before: and he was come to Greece with an army, under pretext of making war against Mithridates,

A. R. 666.
 Ann. C. 85.

tes, but in reality to make it against Sylla. The situation, in which Sylla then found himself, was entirely singular, and perhaps is the only one of the kind. He saw himself upon the point of having upon his hands at one and the same time, a Roman army, and that of Mithridates. But he never doubted either his superiority over all the enemies that should come against him, or his good fortune : and having received advice, that Flaccus was preparing to pass the sea, he marched to meet him, and was already arrived near Melitæum, a city of Thes-saly, when the news of Dorylaus's entrance into Bœotia obliged him to march back directly. He found him incamped with Archelaus before Orchomenus, in a flat open country, which gave them room to extend themselves, and to use their cavalry, in which they were much superior to the Romans.

Dorylaus was for fighting, and would not hearken to the remonstrances of Archelaus, who endeavoured to dissuade him, not even dissembling his suspicions of a General's conduct, who at the head of an army of more than an hundred thousand men, had suffered himself to be beaten by an enemy much inferior. But when he had experienced in a slight action what the Romans were capable of doing, he changed his note, and conceived, that his Colleague's opinion was the result of prudence. However, a numerous cavalry, and a level and spacious ground, gave great reasons to hope. But Sylla knew how to deprive them of those advantages by the method he used for attacking them.

*It is de-
 scribed be-
 fore Or-
 chomenus.*

The plain of Orchomenus was bounded by marshes : Sylla undertook to draw lines here with redoubts from space to space, in order to shut

shut in the enemy on the side next the marshes, and deprive them of the use of the plain. Archelaus perfectly comprehended the Roman General's design, and resolved, at any price, to prevent him from compleating his works: accordingly he quitted his camp, and drew up his troops in order of battle. Sylla also drew up his army in three lines, and ordered those, who were posted in the front of the second line, to fix strong palisades before each of them very near one another. In effect, when the enemy's armed carriages began to approach with impetuosity, he made his front line retire behind that palisade, by which the carriages were stopped, and became entirely useless.

A. R. 666.
Ant. C. 862

Frontin.
Stratag.
II. 3.

However, the cavalry of the Barbarians vigorously attacked those, who guarded the works. They could not sustain the charge: and having been put to flight, communicated their disorder and confusion, even to the body of troops, that were to support them. All gave way and fled. Sylla hastened thither, and dismounting from his horse, took an ensign, and advancing towards the enemy, he cried out to his troops, *For my part, it is glorious to die here: For yours, if you should be asked, where you abandoned your General, remember you say, at Orchomenus.* This reproach, and the example of the General, reanimated the flying troops; at the same time two cohorts of the right wing arrived: and with that aid Sylla having repulsed the enemy, contented himself with that advantage, and continued his works.

Plut. in
Sylla, &
Appian

The Barbarians soon returned to the charge in better order than at first. The battle was obstinate; till the Archers finding themselves pressed by the Romans, made use of their ar-

A. R. 666.
Ant. C. 86.

rows, as swords, in close fight. But at length victory declared for Sylla: the Barbarians were forced to regain their camp, with the loss of fifteen thousand men, amongst whom was the son-in-law of Archelaus.

Sylla, in consequence of these successes, carried on his lines continually; and was already within an hundred and twenty paces of the enemy's camp. The latter, enraged to see themselves shut up by an enemy, less numerous than their own, tried a new effort, but with still worse success than the former. The Romans not contented with having repulsed them, attacked the camp, and carried it sword in hand. The conquered had no retreat but on the side of the marshes, where so great a number of them perished, that Plutarch tells us, in his time, almost two hundred years after this battle, bows, helmets, pieces of armour, and swords of the Barbarians, were found in the mud. Archelaus lay hid two days in the marshes, and afterwards escaped to Chalcis, where he employed himself in re-assembling the remains of his two defeats. Sylla returned into Thessaly to take up his winter-quarters; and, as he had no news of Lucullus, he resolved to build ships himself; rightly perceiving, that he could not pursue his advantages, and compleat his victory, without a fleet.

*Lucullus
assembles a
fleet, and
sails to the
Ægean
sea.
Plut. in
Lucullo.*

Lucullus had not been prevented by negligence from the speedy execution of his important commission. Various obstacles retarded his activity. He set out from Athens with a few light vessels, and having happily passed through the enemy's fleet, he arrived first in Crete, and afterwards at Cyrene. On his arrival at the latter place, he found every thing in disorder.

We

A. R. 666.
Ant. C. 86.

We have related in the 656th year, that Ptolemy Apion, the last King of Cyrene, had left his dominions, by will, to the Romans, who, instead of taking possession of them, had given the Cyrenæans their liberty, exacting only a small tribute from them. The Cyrenæans, accustomed to the government of Kings, could not govern themselves: seditions, cruel * tyranny, murders of tyrants, revival of factions, all the direful effects of liberty degenerated into licence, in their turns, alternately harrassed that miserable city. It was torn to pieces by the dissensions of the principal citizens, when Lucullus landed there. Before they gave him the ships he demanded, they conjured him to re-establish tranquility and good order amongst them. He could not deny himself to so just a request. He found them in a situation that promised success. For in former times, that People having desired the same thing of Plato,

* A woman, whose courage and zeal for her country seemed to the Greeks to merit the greatest praises, though those sentiments induced her to commit the most atrocious things, delivered Cyrene from two tyrants, one of whom was her husband, and the other her son-in-law. She formed and executed alone, notwithstanding a thousand obstacles, such hazardous designs. She first made her son-in-law kill her husband, tho' the tyrant's own brother. And afterwards, when he shewed himself as cruel as his brother had been, she caused him to be destroyed in his turn. The

particular accounts of these facts, which Plutarch has preserved in his treatise upon the virtues of women, being foreign to my subject, I content myself with a transient mention of them here. This Heroine's name was Aretephile. But what does her no less honour than her courage, is, that after having proved the superiority of her genius by these two great effects of it; though invited to share in the government of the city, she confined herself to the usual occupations of her sex, contented to see her country enjoy the liberty she had acquired it.

A. R. 666.
A. J. C. 86.

that Philosopher answered, It was hardly possible to give them laws in the state of prosperity they enjoyed. (a) And indeed nothing is more difficult to govern and controul than man, when flushed with good fortune; and nothing, on the contrary, more supple and docile, when dejected by distress and disgrace. It was this, that disposed the Cyrenæans on the present occasion to submit voluntarily to the decrees of Lucullus. He resided some time amongst them; and having re-instated the laws of their ancient Legislators, and added regulations that suited the emergencies of their present affairs, he put to sea again, and landed in Egypt. He had a bad voyage. Many of his ships were either taken or sunk by the Pirates, who began to infest all those seas. Lucullus escaped, and arrived at Alexandria.

Ptolomy Lathyrus then reigned there. That Prince gave Lucullus the best reception, and paid him all possible deference. But apprehending without doubt the too ~~great~~ power of the Romans, and secretly favouring in Mithridates the defender of the common cause of Kings, he refused to have any share in the war against him, and only gave Lucullus some vessels to convoy him to Cyprus. The Roman in consequence was reduced to draw together what ships he could get from the maritime cities of Asia. The Rhodians seconded him with all the magnanimity and fidelity, of which they had already given such great proofs. Their fleet united with the ships he had assembled from different places, enabled him to keep the

(a) Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπῳ δυσχερότερον ἢ πρῶτον εὐτυχίας, συγκαλίστῃ ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης. Plut. in Luc.
ὡς αὖτε παλὺν δειλινώτερον ἐπι-

Ægean sea, in order to facilitate Sylla's passage into Asia, who, during this interval, had gained the two victories of Chæronea and Orchomenus, and purged Greece of the troops and Generals of Mithridates.

The affairs of that Prince did not go well in Asia. The victories of Sylla had re-animated the Roman party in that great country; and Mithridates, from endeavouring to remedy the evil by every kind of cruelty, had only augmented it. He had begun by securing the persons of all he suspected. Amongst the rest he had either sent for, or engaged to come to him, the Tetrarchs of the Gallo-Græcians, with their children and relations, to the number of sixty. Those Princes, seeing themselves removed from their country, strictly guarded, and treated with extreme rigour, conspired against him. Their plot was discovered; and they were all massacred, except three, who escaped with great difficulty, one of whom was the famous Dejotarus. Mithridates seized their treasures, put garrisons into their cities, and sent Eumachus to govern Gallo-Græcia in his name, and under his authority. But the three Princes, who had escaped his cruelty, soon assembled their ancient subjects under their banners. They drove out Eumachus, and re-possessed themselves of the whole country.

The Isle of Chio also experienced the most horrible treatment from Mithridates. He kept in mind the vessel of that country, which had ran foul of his at the siege of Rhodes. Besides which it appeared, that the Romans had a strong party in this island. He first confiscated the estates of several, who had fled to Sylla's camp. He then sent Commissioners to make

A. R. 665.
Ant. C. 86.

*Tetrarchs
of the
Gallo-
Græcians
put to death
by order of
Mithri-
dates.
Appian.*

*The isle of
Chio treat-
ed cruelly.*

A. R. 666. make enquiries after such as were suspected of
 AN. C. 86. favouring the Romans. And lastly, he included the whole city: and Zenobius having sailed to the island by his orders, with troops seemingly intended for Greece, made himself master, during the night, both of the walls, and all the important posts. The next day he assembled the inhabitants, acquainted them with the King's suspicions of them, and added, that to purge themselves, it was necessary to deliver up their arms, and give the children of the principal citizens for hostages. They were reduced to obey; believing at least, as they were flattered, that Mithridates would be thereby appeased, and would require no more. But a letter from that Prince soon shewed them, they were deceived in their hopes. He reproached them with adhering to the Romans. He represented the accident of the ship, as a design formed and almost executed against his person. In consequence he declared, that his Council had judged them worthy of death; but however, that he would vouchsafe to be satisfied with a fine of two thousand talents (about three hundred thousand pounds). The people in their alarm implored the King's clemency, and desired to send an embassy to him. But Zenobius refusing that, they found themselves reduced to take all the ornaments of their wives, and even of their temples, to make up the sum imposed: Zenobius again, with new perfidy, pretended there was something wanting of the weight: and under that pretext he summoned them again to the Theatre, which was the place of assembly in the Grecian cities. He there surrounded them with armed men, and made them embark on board ships to be transported

to Colchis, setting the women and children aside, who were thereby exposed to the insults and violences of the Barbarians, into whose hands they were delivered. The unhappy Chians found however some relief in their misfortunes from the compassion of the people of Heraclea their friends and allies. For when the ships, that carried them, were passing before that city, the people suddenly came out, seized the captives, whom they took great care to assemble, and kept them, till Mithridates having abandoned Asia, in effect of the peace with Sylla, they were at liberty to return to their own country.

A. R. 556.
Ant. C. 86.

Memnon
apud Plut.

Zenobius was not long before he suffered the punishment of his cruelty. Having undertaken to treat the city of Ephesus as he had done that of Chio, he fell into his own snare; and the Ephesians were not only upon their guard against surprize, but they surprized the traitor himself, and having thrown him into prison, put him to death. This example was followed by several other great cities of those parts, who drove out the Governors of Mithridates; so that he was obliged to employ force for reducing them. And dreadful was it for those who fell into his hands: against whom no rigour was spared. At the same time, to prevent the like revolts in the countries that still obeyed him, he granted the debtors remission of their debts, slaves liberty, and strangers the freedom in the cities, where they were settled: concluding he should thereby make himself creatures, that would continue more assuredly faithful to him, as a change of master would inevitably deprive them of the advantages they enjoyed from him. All these rigours, and measures

Revolt of several cities of Asia, and new cruelties of Mithridates.
Appian.

A. R. 666.
Ant. C. 85.

measures of good policy, could not prevent the forming of several conspiracies against him, on the occasion of which he caused sixteen hundred persons to be put to death in the different cities of Asia. In this manner were the Asiatics punished by Mithridates himself for their infidelity to the Romans. Sylla compleated the revenge: and in particular, the instruments of Mithridates's cruelties either perished by the orders of the Roman General, prevented punishment by a voluntary death, or banished themselves by flying into Pontus. But this did not happen till afterwards.

A. R. 667.
Ant. C. 85.

L. CORNELIUS CINNA III.
CN. PAPIRIUS CARBO.

*Negotia-
tion set on
foot by Ar-
chelaus at
an inter-
view with
Sylla.
Plut. in
Sylla, &
Appian.*

As to the time of which we are speaking, Mithridates, alarmed by the entire defeat of two such great armies, as those he had sent into Greece, gave Archelaus orders to open a negotiation with Sylla, who received the first overtures of it with great joy. Cinna and Carbo exercised in Rome an unjust and cruel tyranny against all the most illustrious citizens: and most of them, obliged to fly, had no other asylum but Sylla's camp, to which they repaired in so great a number, that they almost formed a Senate there. That General was in consequence greatly perplexed. He could neither resolve to leave so many great persons, and his country itself, under oppression, nor abandon the war with Mithridates, which he had so happily began. Whilst he was under this anxiety, the demand of a conference by Archelaus seemed the most favourable circumstance he could hope. He embraced the occasion; and the

two

two Generals had an interview at Delium, a city of Bœotia, upon the sea-coast.

A. R. 667.
Ant. C. 85.

The Cappadocian perfectly knew Sylla's perplexity, and was at first for taking advantage of it. He therefore proposed to him to think no further of Asia, but to return into Italy, whither his affairs recalled him; promising him all the aid he could desire, money, men, and ships. Sylla, whose haughty spirit was infinitely offended by such a proposal, did not shew at first what he thought of it, but invited Archelaus in his turn to abandon Mithridates, and to make himself King in his stead: and he offered to assist him in that design, if he would deliver up the fleet he commanded to him. Archelaus cried out, that he was incapable of treason. *How, resumed the Roman, you, who are a Cappadocian, and the slave, or, if you will, the friend of a Barbarian King, do you think a Crown too dearly purchased by infidelity? And, having to do with a Roman General, and Sylla, dare you talk to him of treason? Are you not that Archelaus, who, out of an army of six-score thousand men, scarce saved enough to secure your flight; who since lay hid two days in the marshes of Orchomenus, and left the plains of Bœotia covered with your slain?*

Archelaus, struck with this thundering answer, changed his tone, and, throwing himself at Sylla's feet, implored him to put an end to the war, and to make peace with Mithridates. *I consent to it, replied Sylla: and provided your Master will deliver up the fleet under your command, will release all the prisoners he has taken from us, and the fugitive slaves; will send home the People of Chio, and all the rest he has transplanted into Pontus; will withdraw his garrisons from*

*A. R. 667. garrisons from all the places, except those he possessed
 Asi. C. 85. before he broke his treaties with us; will defray
 all our expences in this war; and lastly, will confine
 himself within the kingdom of his ancestors, I
 hope to obtain his pardon from the Roman People.*
 Archelaus made no objections: and it was
 agreed, that Mithridates should abandon Asia,
 properly so called, and Paphlagonia; should
 restore Bithynia to Nicomedes, and Cappado-
 cia to Ariobarzanes; should pay the Romans
 two thousand talents, (about three hundred
 thousand pounds) and give them seventy ships
 equipped for war: and that Sylla on his side
 should confirm to him the possession of his an-
 cient dominions, and should cause him to be ac-
 knowledged the ally of the Romans.

Such was the purport of the treaty; which
 Mithridates was not in haste to ratify. The
 conditions must have seemed very hard to him,
 and it may be supposed with probability enough,
 that the arrival of Flaccus in Greece gave him
 hopes; and that he was for seeing, whether
 those two Roman Generals would make war up-
 on each other, and thereby enable him either to
 reinstate his affairs, or at least to obtain a less
 disadvantageous peace.

*Flaccus
 lands in
 Greece.*

Flaccus had landed in Greece with two le-
 gions, either at the end of the preceding year,
 or the beginning of this: and we have Cinna's
 commission, as we have said, to take upon him
 the command of the war, in Sylla's place,
 who had been declared an enemy of the Com-
 monwealth. But it was easier to pass such a de-
 cree, than to put it in execution; especially by
 the ministration of Flaccus, the most unfit of all
 mankind to overcome Sylla, and supply his place.
 He was very ignorant in the art of war; and
 had

had all the faults that could excite hatred in the troops; insatiable avarice, that extended even to defrauding the soldiers of their pay, and engrossing as much as possible, the whole plunder to himself; besides which, his command was capricious and fantastic, attended with excessive rigour in punishments. It had not been safe for a General of his character even to approach too near Sylla; and Flaccus experienced it immediately after his arrival. For a detachment, which he had sent into Thessaly, went over to his adversary's camp: and if all the rest of his army did not do the same, it was on Fimbria's account, who had been appointed his Lieutenant-General, in order to supply his want of capacity.

A. R. 667.
Ant. C. 85.
His character.
Appian.
Mithrid.
Dio. &
Diod.
apud
Vales.

Fimbria knew war, and had nothing of the mean avarice, and odious cruelty of his General: he even gave into the contrary excess, and soothed the soldiery by an indulgence entirely repugnant to good discipline. Besides which, he was the most audacious, rash and insolent of mankind. We have seen an instance of what he was capable, in the assassination of Scævola at the funeral of Marius. It was hard for a good understanding to subsist between two such men as Flaccus and Fimbria. Flaccus hated his Lieutenant: Fimbria despised his General: and both had reason for their sentiments of each other.

Character of Fimbria, his Lieutenant.

They however agreed in removing from Sylla; and having crossed Macedonia and Thrace, arrived at Byzantium, in order to go from thence into Asia, and pursue Mithridates. Here their misunderstanding broke out. Flaccus had entered the city, and made his troops encamp without. Upon that Fimbria caballed with

Discord between Flaccus and Fimbria, and murder of Flaccus.

A. R. 665.
AET. C. 87.

with the soldiers: he perswaded them, that their General had taken money from the Byzantines to exempt them from quartering the army; and that he little regarded the troops being exposed to the injuries of the weather, whilst he diverted himself at his ease in commodious houses. This discourse had its effect: and the soldiers taking arms entered the city, killed the first they met, and took up their quarters in the houses.

Other differences arose between Flaccus and Fimbria, either upon the occasion of the latter's permitting the troops to plunder friend and enemy indifferently, or of other less important subjects. At length things were carried to such an height, that Fimbria, who believed himself necessary, threatened to retire. Flaccus enraged, answered, that he would make him do so, and immediately broke him, and gave Thermus his employment: and soon after, through great imprudence, he passed the straits to go to Chalcedon. Fimbria took the advantage of his absence to present himself to the troops. He at first endeavoured to move them by taking a mournful leave, and asking them for letters to their relations and friends at Rome and in Italy. Afterwards assuming more boldness, he took pains to inflame their resentment against a cruel and avaricious General; pretending that he had been ill-used solely on account of his affection for them. When he saw, that every thing he said was well received, he ascended the Tribunal, from whence he made an invective in form against Flaccus, and exhorted the soldiers to distrust him as a man capable of betraying them, and delivering them up to Mithridates for money. In effect, he incensed them to such a degree, that they

they drove away Thermus, and acknowledged Fimbria for their commander. On the news of so furious a sedition, Flaccus hastened back. But the time was past: the evil was now too great to admit a remedy: and he was reduced to retire as fast as possible, being even let down over the walls. Fimbria first pursued him to Chalcedon, and then to Nicomedia. In this last city having found him hid in a well, he caused him to be taken out, and killed. Afterwards, as if the murder of his General had been a title for succeeding him, he took upon him the command of the army.

Sylla in the mean time was advancing through Theffaly and Macedonia towards the Hellespont, having Archelaus with him, whom he highly careffed, and took very great care of in a dangerous illness, which seized that Cappadocian General near Lariffa. This regard of Sylla for Archelaus, the present he made him of ten thousand acres of land in the isle of Eubœa, and some other circumstances gave birth to, or confirmed, the suspicions already conceived, that there had been some collusion between them from the battle of Chæronea. Sylla did not admit this; and even refuted the report that had been spread on this subject in his Memoirs. It is not possible for us to determine what to think of it. But it is certain, that Sylla possessed in an high degree, and exercised upon all occasions, the talent of debauching the creatures, officers, and soldiers of those with whom he made war.

However it were, on this march he received the answer of Mithridates, who acquiesced to most of the conditions of the Treaty, but was for keeping Paphlagonia, and absolutely refused

A. R. 667.
Ant. C. 85.

Sylla advances towards the Hellespont. Suspicions of Archelaus.

Answer of Mithridates. Haughtiness of Sylla.

A. R. 667.
Ant. C. 85.

to deliver up his ships. The Ambassadors added, that the King might have obtained better terms from Fimbria, if he had applied to him. That comparison touched Sylla to the quick; and far from admitting the proposed restrictions, *What do you say*, replied he to the Ambassadors; *does your master trifle with us about Papblagonia, and a few ships; he, who, in my opinion, ought to thank me upon his knees for leaving him the right-hand, with which he signed the order for massacring an hundred thousand Romans. Let him not mention Fimbria to me. I am going to Asia, where I shall at the same time chastise Fimbria, and force Mithridates to change his note.* Archelaus, who was present at this audience, threw himself at Sylla's feet, imploring him with tears to calm his rage, and offering to go himself to Mithridates. *I'll make him ratify the whole treaty*, said he, *or kill myself before his face.* This proves, which I observe in my way, that Archelaus did not apprehend, that Mithridates had any suspicion of his fidelity. He accordingly set out, and Sylla moved towards Thrace, to check the incursions made by the people of that country into Macedonia.

*Fimbria
reduces
Mithrida-
tes to ex-
treme
danger.*

Fimbria very much promoted the conclusion of the Treaty by the vigorous measures he took against Mithridates. That Prince had appointed one of his sons of his own name to defend Bithynia, and had given him three of his most illustrious Generals, Taxiles, Diophantes, and Menander, for his Council. Young Mithridates had at first some slight advantage over Fimbria; but being soon driven out of the field, he was reduced to fly to Pergamus to his father, and to abandon the whole country to the victor.

Fimbria lost no time ; and having marched directly to Pergamus, he obliged the King of Pontus to quit that city with precipitation, and to retire to Pitana upon the sea. The Roman pursued him thither again ; and having besieged him on the land-side, as he had no ships, he sent to Lucullus, who was then with his fleet in the Ægean Sea, to come and shut up the port of Pitana ; representing to him, that Mithridates could not escape them, and that they should jointly have the glory of taking the greatest enemy of Rome prisoner, and of terminating the war by an exploit, that would eclipse those of Sylla. It had been all over with Mithridates, if Lucullus had given in to this proposal. But, whether out of attachment to Sylla, whom he would not deprive of his conquest, or aversion to Fimbria, whose wickedness gave him horror, he refused to join in that project, and Mithridates went by sea to Mitylene.

A. R. 667.
Ant. C. 85.

L. CORNELIUS CINNA IV.
CN. PAPIRIUS CARBO II.

A. R. 668.
Ant. C. 84.

In so great an extremity, that Prince perceived he had no other resource left, than to conclude the peace with Sylla. Archelaus was sent back to that General, to declare, that Mithridates submitted, and only demanded an interview. It was near the city of Philippi, that Archelaus found Sylla, who continued his march to Sestos. There Lucullus, who was master of the sea, and lay at Abydos, took the army on board his fleet.

Mithridates resolves to comply with Sylla.
Plut. in Syll. & Appian.

A. R. 668.
 ANL. C. 84.
Their in-
terview.

Mithridates and Sylla met near Dardanum in the country of Troas, each at the head of their troops, but at some distance, having brought but few attendants to the place of interview. The King advanced to meet the Proconsul, and offered him his hand. Sylla, before he received that compliment, asked him, whether he would execute the articles concluded with Archelaus. Mithridates having kept silence some time, *Speak, said the Roman to him : It is for him, who asks an interview, to explain himself. As to the victor, it suffices for him to give ear.* Mithridates then undertook to justify himself, and to lay all that happened, partly upon fate, and partly upon the misconduct of the Romans themselves. *I have heard say, resumed Sylla, that you were a good orator ; but you have now given me a great proof of it, in finding specious colours for so bad a cause as yours.* He then refuted all his arguments, reproached him with all his cruelties, and concluded his discourse with asking him again, whether he would adhere to all that Archelaus had promised on his behalf. Mithridates having answered that he submitted to it ; Sylla then gave him his hand, and embraced him. At the same time he presented Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes to him, whom he had brought with him in order to their reconciliation. Mithridates immediately executed the conditions of the treaty, delivered up to Sylla seventy ships of war, released the Roman prisoners, paid the sum stipulated, that is, two, or, as some say, three thousand talents, and returned into the Kingdom of Pontus ; having derived no other advantage from his vast and ambitious enterprizes, but a short-lived power, that vanished like a dream,

dream, and of which nothing real remained, but the infinite calamities he had occasioned to a great part of the Universe. A. R. 668. Ant. C. 84.

Sylla had now to vindicate himself to his soldiers, in respect to the peace he had just concluded. They thought it strange to suffer the most cruel enemy of the Roman name to return in safety to his dominions, with the riches of Asia, that he had plundered and laid under contribution, during four years. These murders having reached the General's ears, he thought it incumbent on him not to neglect them; and having assembled his army, he represented, "that it would have been impossible for him to sustain a war at the same time against Mithridates and Fimbria; and that he had been reduced to come to an accommodation with one enemy, in order to be in a condition to cope with the other." Accordingly, he began his march to attack Fimbria, who was encamped near Thyatira in Lydia.

Though that General had not been Sylla's personal enemy, his crimes and oppressions did not deserve to pass with impunity. He had abused his victory by all the insolence, that success and superiority usually inspire in base and inhuman minds. He exhorted his troops in person to plunder and ravage the countries: he exacted great sums from the cities, which he distributed amongst his soldiers. If any one made resistance, after having taken it, he caused it to be plundered; and such in particular was the fate of Nicomedia. He entered Cyzicum as a friend: but he had scarce been received into it, when he picked a quarrel with the richest inhabitants, and pretended that they

Sylla justifies himself to his soldiers for having made peace with Mithridates. Plut. in Syll.

He pursues Fimbria, and reduces him to kill himself. Appian.

Dio apud Vales.

A. R. 668.
Ant. C. 84

deserved death. Accordingly, he condemned and executed two to terrify the rest, and in that manner obliged the unfortunate Cyziceniens to give up all they had for the ransom of their lives. His cruelty was so horrible, that, according to Dio, having one day caused many crosses to be erected, as the number of them exceeded that of the persons to be executed, he caused those that remained to be supplied at a venture out of the spectators.

Dio *ibid.*

Appian.

The city of Ilion experienced his fury and barbarity above all the rest. The inhabitants, on his approach, had applied to Sylla, who, being then at a great distance, could only promise them his protection. This was an unpardonable crime with Fimbria. Accordingly, as soon as he was master of the city, whether he had taken it by force, or had used treachery in order to his being received into it as a friend and ally (for the thing is related both ways) he gave orders to put all to the sword, without regard to sex or age: he burnt and demolished the walls, houses, and temples, without sparing that of Minerva: and the day after that cruel execution, he even carefully inspected whether there were any building remaining of that unfortunate city. It is said, that the Palladium was preserved in this general destruction, having been buried and hid in the ruins. This Palladium must have been oddly multiplied, to have been carried off by Diomedes, during the siege of Troy, brought to Italy by Æneas, and again found at Ilion, at the time of which we are speaking. It was also shewn in other places.

Fimbria

Fimbria expected, by all these plunderings, that enriched his soldiers, to have gained their affection. He was deceived, and found, to his cost, that to give troops all kinds of licence is a bad method of securing their fidelity. As soon as Sylla appeared in sight of his camp, and had summoned him to resign the command of the army, to which he had no right, the desertion began, and Fimbria saw himself in danger of being intirely abandoned. He however answered haughtily, that it was Sylla himself, that had no legal authority, having been declared the enemy of the commonwealth: and he prepared to make a vigorous defence. But his soldiers openly refused to fight with their fellow-citizens. He spared no kind of arguments and intreaties to move them. He threw himself at their feet; he conjured them with tears not to deliver him up to his enemy, and went from tent to tent to make his sad lamentations to the officers. None hearkened to him, not even of those, who had gained most by his robberies, and who before had professed the greatest affection for him. In his despair, he tried to get Sylla assassinated. But the slave, who was to give the blow, was discovered. At last, having no resource, he demanded an interview. Sylla would not see him, and sent an officer to him, called Rutilius. The Vile become very abject and humble, when in danger: Fimbria descended so far as to beg for pardon, excusing himself, on account of his youth. Rutilius answered, that if he would quit Asia, Sylla would grant him his permission. Fimbria apparently did not rely much upon that promise; and saying, that he had a better way for extricating himself out

A. R. 668.
ÆT. C. 84.

of all his misfortunes, he retired to Pergamus, and there in the temple of Æsculapius, stabbed himself with his sword. The wound was not mortal, and a slave, at his request, put an end to his life, and afterwards killed himself on the body of his master. His freedmen, having asked permission to pay him their last duty, Sylla consented; declaring that he would not imitate Marius and Cinna, who had carried their cruelty beyond their enemies lives, and had refused them burial. Fimbria's army submitted to Sylla, who in consequence was now sole arbiter of Asia and Greece.

*Disposi-
on: of
Sylla af-
ter the
victory.*

His first care was to write to the Senate and People of Rome, to give them an account of his exploits and victories; affecting ignorance of the decree, by which he had been declared an enemy to his country. At the same time he appointed Curio to reinstate Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes upon their Thrones: and as for himself, he made the distribution of punishments and rewards in the provinces, he had just reconquered, his employment. He found much less to reward than punish. Ilion, Chios, Magnesia, the Rhodians, and Lycians were the only States, which having either suffered much from Mithridates, or shewn an inviolable fidelity for the Romans, seemed to deserve either to be re-established, or honoured with more distinguished privileges. All the other People and cities had rendered themselves culpable in respect to the Romans; and to punish them, Sylla began by distributing his Legions throughout Asia; with orders, that his soldiers should not only be quartered, but should each receive sixteen drachmas (about eight shillings) a day, and the centurions fifty; (about five and twenty shillings) and

*He gives
his soldiers
great re-
wards.*

and themselves, and such of their friends as they should invite, to be entertained, with two habits, one for the house, and the other to wear abroad. His design was, in punishing the rebels, to gratify his soldiers, and fix them in his interest. He succeeded; but he introduced luxury and debauchery amongst them; and enervated by the pleasures of those rich countries, they carried back to Rome the vices to which they had accustomed themselves in Asia. We have this remark from (a) Sallust, “Sylla’s soldiers, says he, treated with an indulgence contrary to the maxims of our ancestors, enervated themselves in a country, abounding with pleasures, of all kinds, and which the idleness they enjoyed, induced them to pursue. It was there, that the Roman armies learnt to abandon themselves to the excesses of debauch and drunkenness; to conceive a taste for statues, paintings, and sculptures; to rob not only particulars of those ornaments, but cities and the temples of the gods; in a word, to plunder without regard to sacred or profane.” Asia in all times had been fatal to the manners of the Romans. From their first entering it under the command of Scipio Asiaticus*, Livy confirms the same corruption mentioned here by Sallust.

(a) L. Sulla exercitum, quem in Asia ductaverat, quò sibi fidum faceret, contra morem majorum luxuriosè nimisque liberaliter habuerat. Loca amœna, voluptaria, facilè in otio ferocis militum animos molliverant. Ibi primùm insuevit exercitus

Romanus amare, potare, signa, tabulas pictas, vasa cœlata mirari, ea privatim ac publicè rapere, sacra profanaque omnia polluere. *Sallust. Catil. c. 11.*

* See Vol. VII. de Scipione Asiatic.

A. R. 668.
Ant. C. 84.

Appian.

The quartering of the soldiers by Sylla's orders in the manner we have just related, was the common punishment of all the cities of Asia. But those who had signalized their attachment for Mithridates, and their enmity for the Romans, were punished with peculiar rigour, and especially Ephesus, which through a base and infamous adulation of the King of Pontus, had contemptuously pulled down the monuments, which the Romans had consecrated in their temples. Sylla also condemned the slaves made free by Mithridates to their former state: and as their number was very great, many assembled in bodies, and defended themselves in arms; and this was a new occasion for treating the cities with rigour, of which they had made themselves masters. Some of them were dismantled, and the inhabitants reduced into captivity.

He fines
Asia
20,000
talents.

And lastly, Sylla summoned the Deputies of all Asia to Ephesus, made them a long speech, repeated by Appian, in which he at first expatiated upon the benefits the Asiatics had received from the Romans, and the ingratitude with which they had been repaid. He reproached them in particular with the horrid slaughter, that had been made of so many thousand Romans. He added that such enormous crimes deserved the most severe revenge; but in consideration for the Grecian name, and the ancient alliance, he would only exact from them the immediate payment of the duties and tributes of five years. Plutarch makes the sum then imposed by Sylla, amount to twenty thousand talents, which is about three millions sterling. Happily for Asia, Lucullus was charged with levying them; and though he

1 lut. in
Lucullo.

he was obliged to execute these rigorous orders, A. R. 668.
Ant. C. 84. he tempered the severity of them as much as possible by his lenity and moderation. This was also lucky for Lucullus himself, who in effect of this commission was absent from Italy, during the time that Sylla was pursuing the party of Marius, and thereby had no share in the horrors of the civil war.

Another scourge then afflicted Asia: this The Pi- was the Pirates, who began then to become rates ra- formidable. Mithridates, who held intelligence vage the with them, gave himself no trouble to defend coasts of a country from their incursions, of which he Asia. was soon to be deprived. Sylla had the same Appian. indifference, though whilst he was upon the spot they had the audacity to attack and take several considerable cities, as Jassus, Samos, Clazomene, and Samothracia, the temple of which last they plundered, and carried off its riches to the amount of a thousand talents, (about an hundred and fifty thousand pounds.) He thought perhaps, that Asia well deserved what it suffered; or rather being obliged to return to Italy, he was unwilling to engage in a new enterprize, that did not appear absolutely necessary, and might retard him a great while. He therefore left Muræna in Asia, with the legions that had served under Fimbria: and set out from Ephesus with those, with whom he had gained so many victories.

Perhaps (a) there is nothing more worthy of praise in the whole life of Sylla, than the tranquillity;

(a) Vix quidquam in Sullæ operibus clarius duxerim, quàm quòd, quum per triennium Cinnanæ Marianæque partes Italiam ob- siderent, neque illaturum se bellum iis dissimulavit, nec quod erat in manibus omisit; existimavitque antè frangendum hostem, quàm ul-

A. R. 668.
Ant. C. 84.
*Prefer-
ence gi-
ven by Syl-
la of Mi-
thridates
to his pri-
vate inter-
ests.*

quillity, with which he left himself time to terminate the war with Mithridates gloriously, whilst his personal interests recalled him to Italy. The faction of Marius and Cinna had had the sole sway in Rome during three years; and Sylla, neither ever dissembled his design to make war against it, nor abandoned that he had upon his hands. He however believed it incumbent upon him to crush the enemy, before he took revenge of the citizens; and to deliver the Empire from the danger, that threatened it from the stranger, before he attacked his personal enemies (a). Plutarch compares him in this point to those courageous dogs, which never let go their hold, and which when struck and even wounded, do not quit the adversary they have fastened on, till they have brought him down.

Sylla in three days sailing arrived from Ephesus at the Piræus. During his stay there, he purchased the library of Appellicon, in which were included the originals of Aristotle's works. The reader will permit me to *
refer

ulciscendum civum; repul-
sioque externo metu, ubi
quod alienum esset vicisset,
superaret quod erat domesti-
cum. *Vell* II. 14.

(a) Καθάπερ οἱ γυναικοὶ
καὶ, ἐκ αἰνῶς τὸ δῆγμα καὶ
τῆς λαοῦς πρὸς τὴν ἡ τ' ἀντα-
γωνιστὴν ἀπειπεῖν. Plut. in
compar. Lyfandri & Sullæ.

* I must take notice, that
we are here to understand
only the originals, or Aristo-
tle's own manuscripts, which
Mr. Rollin mentions after
Strabo in something too gene-
ral a manner. It is not pos-
sible to believe, that his works

continued absolutely unknown
from the time of his death.
But the originals were in
Appellicon's library, and per-
haps several tracts, that had
not appeared in publick. In
consequence the edition of them
taken at Rome from the ma-
nuscripts, brought thither by
Sylla, was both more authen-
tick, and more compleat,
than the preceding ones. I
borrow these remarks from
a book printed at Paris in
the year 1717, intituled A-
menites de la Critique: 'The
Treasures of Criticism, in
which the fact I am speak-
ing

refer him in respect to this fact, to what is said of it in the ancient history. From Athens Sylla took his route by land through Thessaly and part of Macedonia, and arrived at Dyrrachium, where whilst he was preparing to go to Italy, Plutarch tells us, a satyr was brought to him, that had been found asleep. It does not suit our plan to dwell upon a fact of this kind, which must be fabulous, or misrepresented through ignorance or imposture. But before we follow Sylla to Italy, we must resume our account of what passed there, whilst he was employed in the war against Mithridates.

A. R. 663.
Ant. C. 84.
*He pre-
pares to
return into
Italy.
Plut. in
Sull.*

*ing of is treated, and is little too much severity in
discussed with abundance of respect to Strabo, a most ju-
care, but perhaps with a dicious and sensible writer.*

BOOK THE THIRTY THIRD.

THE
ROMAN HISTORY.

WHICH contains what passed at Rome and in Italy in the absence of Sylla, his war afterwards with Marius's faction; the proscriptions, Dictatorship, and death of Sylla. It also includes Murena's short war with Mithridates. All these facts pass in the space of less than nine years, from the year 666 to 674.

S E C T. I.

Universal bankruptcy. Unjust law of Valerius Flaccus. Alteration of the species of coin. Decree to fix them. Fraud of Marius Gracidianus. Pompey accused of peculation on account of his father. His character. The beauty of his person in his youth. He had prevented his father's army from quitting him. Censors. Sylla's letters to the Senate. The Senate's Deputation to Sylla. The Consuls assemble

seem great forces. Cinna's death. Carbo remains sole Consul. Carbo is for exacting Hostages from the cities of Italy. Constancy of Castricius, Magistrate of Placentia. Adventures of Crassus. He makes some movements in Spain. Metellus Pius driven out of Africa, retires to Liguria, and afterwards joins Sylla. Decree of the Senate for disbanding all the armies. Preparations of the Consuls against Sylla. Affection of Sylla's soldiers for their General. Sylla lands in Italy, and advances as far as Campania without opposition. Defeat of Norbanus. The capitol burnt. Cethegus goes over to Sylla. Treachery of Verres to Carbo. Sylla debauches Scipio's army. Sertorius goes to Spain. Carbo's saying concerning Sylla. Saying of Sylla to Crassus. Pompey at the age of twenty-three, raises an army of three legions. His first victories. He joins Sylla, who pays him great honours. Antipathy between Pompey and Crassus. Modesty and deference of Pompey for Metellus Pius. Carbo Consul for the third time with Marius the younger. The Prætor Fabius is burnt in his palace at Utica. Advantages gained by Sylla's Lieutenants. He makes a treaty with the States of Italy. His confidence. Massacres decreed by the Consul Marius, and executed by Damasippus. Death of Scævola, the Pontifex Maximus. Battle of Sacriportus, in which Marius is defeated by Sylla. Siege of Præneste. Sylla is received into Rome. Ineffectual efforts to succour Præneste. Norbanus and Carbo abandon Italy. Last battle at the gates of Rome, between Sylla and the Samnites. Sylla's change of manners. Six thousand prisoners massacred by his orders.

Rome

Rome filled with murders. Proscription. Catilina's cruelties. Horrible punishment of Marius Gratidianus. Oppianicus gratifies his private revenge under the colour of the proscription. Cato, at fourteen years of age, is for killing Sylla. Cæsar proscribed, and saved by the intercession of powerful friends. Sylla's words upon that occasion. End of the siege of Præneste. Young Marius's death. Sylla assumes the surname of Happy. Massacre executed by Sylla in Præneste. Cities proscribed, sold, and demolished by Sylla. Pompey is sent into Sicily to pursue the remains of the conquered party. Carbo's death. Death of Soranus. Lenity of Pompey. Generosity of Sthenius. Pompey's entirely laudable conduct in Sicily.

AFFAIRS OF ROME.

DURING the interval that elapsed from the death of Marius to Sylla's return into Italy, the city of Rome enjoyed a kind of calm, being tyrannized over only by one of the two factions, that tore the Commonwealth. Banishments and oppressions compelled the principal Senators to fly and disperse into different retreats, especially Sylla's camp. But there were no battles between the citizens.

Universal bankruptcy. C. Licinius Calpurnius Piso. C. Calpurnius Piso. C. Calpurnius Piso. C. Calpurnius Piso. Another calamity, undoubtedly less deplorable than a civil war, but however very great in itself, afflicted the city and state: this was the ruin of the publick credit, and an universal bankruptcy. In the midst of the continual alarms and distrusts, which prevailed at Rome, it is easy to suppose, that people kept their purses shut,

shut, and that money became scarce. Besides which the loss of Asia, taken by Mithridates from the Romans, induced the ruin of a great number of citizens, Tax-farmers general, and others, who had settlements in that rich Province. The effects of this were sensibly felt at Rome (*a*). “For it cannot happen,” as Cicero observes, “speaking of the fact in question, “that the fortunes of many should be ruined in “a State, without involving a greater number “in the same calamity.” Thus no body paid; and all commerce and business were at a stand: and the Consul Flaccus, instead of remedying the evil, authorized and augmented it in passing a law, by which debtors should not be obliged to pay more than a fourth of what they owed to their creditors. This law has with reason been deemed infamous, for abolishing the faith of contracts, upon which all human society is founded: and Velleius observes, that the author of it himself was soon punished for it, being murdered the following year by Fimbria in Nicomedia, as we have related above.

A. R. 666.
Vell. II.
23.

The scarcity of money, and the difficulty of payments occasioned thoughts of a remedy, which is always dangerous: this was to alter the species, and to change their value. The succeeding diminutions and augmentations became so frequent, that no body knew what they were worth. The Tribunes of the People, and the Prætors, having assembled to deliberate upon that affair, drew up a decree, by which they fixed the value of the species: and they agreed

(*a*) Non possunt una in civitate multi rem atque fortunas amittere, ut non plures secum in eandem calamitatem trahant. *Pro L. Manil. n. 19.*

after dinner to go in a body to the Tribunal of Harangues, and to publish their decree all together. But M. Marius Gratidianus, one of the Prætors, and nephew of the famous Marius, on the breaking up of this little Council, whilst the rest withdrew to their houses, went to the Forum, and having published the decree in his own name, engrossed the whole merit to himself of what had been deliberated in common.

The honour this decree did him with the multitude is incredible. Statues were erected to him at the corners of every street: and torches were lighted, and wine and incense offered, before the statues, as if some divinity were to be honoured. He assured himself, that he could not fail of the Consulship. But all these advantages, which Gratidianus had acquired by his knavish cunning, does not prevent Cicero from condemning him with the utmost severity.

“ There (*a*) are, said he, things that frequent-
 “ ly interfere in Councils, when the injustice
 “ does not appear very atrocious, and the ad-
 “ vantage to be derived from it very great.
 “ In this case, for instance, Gratidianus con-
 “ ceived it no great crime to rob his Collegues
 “ and the Tribunes of the People of the merit
 “ of this decree; and it seemed a great point
 “ gained for attaining the Consulship, to which
 “ he flattered himself he should be raised by
 “ this means. But there is a certain rule in all

(*a*) Hæc sunt quæ con-
 turbant homines in delibera-
 tione nonnunquam, quum
 id in quo violatur æquitas,
 non ita magnum; illud au-
 tem quod ex eo paritur per-

magnum videtur — Sed
 omnium una regula est, aut
 illud quod utile videtur turpe
 ne sit; aut si turpe est, ne
 videatur esse utile. *Cic. de*
Off III. 81.

“ things;

“ things ; which is, that what seems advan-
 “ tagious should never admit any thing base,
 “ or that nothing base should ever be deemed
 “ advantageous.”

It is in this year Freinshemius dates with ^{Pompey} much probability, the affair Pompey had to ^{accused of} sustain in defence of the memory and fortunes ^{peculation} of his father. An accuser pretended, that ^{on account} Pompeius Strabo had been guilty of peculation, ^{of his} and demanded that an enquiry should be made ^{father.} into his fortune for what he had embezzled ^{Plot. in} from the publick. We have seen, that the ^{Pomp.} conduct of that General had given but too just foundation for such an accusation. Young Pompey was personally involved in this affair ; but for mere trifles, some hunting-nets, and books, which he was said to have received at the taking of Asculum. The most famous orators of Rome spoke for Pompey in this cause, Philippus then considerably advanced in years, Carbo, who was Consul the next year, and Hortensius, whose rising fame already obscured that of his predecessors. Pompey himself, who was then but twenty years old, acquired great reputation by it. He had occasion to speak in it several times, which he did with infinite grace ; tempering the fire of youth with an air of gravity and maturity beyond his years. The Prætor Antistius who presided at the trial, was so charmed with his behaviour, that during the prosecution he concluded the marriage of his daughter with the young defendant. The thing was known, and when the Prætor passed sentence in his favour, the whole People repeated the * acclamation used by the Romans in the nuptial ceremony. The marriage actually took place, and Antistia was Pompey's wife. * *Talassio.*

It was in consequence on this occasion, that Pompey received the first proofs of the favour of the Roman People, which continually increased afterwards, and followed him not only during his life, but even beyond the grave. *Character of Pompey.* Many qualities, says Plutarch, acquired him this universal affection; a wise and modest behaviour, great taste and address in military exercises, a natural and insinuating eloquence, a character of fidelity to engage confidence, and an obliging and easy familiarity. For never did any one ask with less importunity, nor serve others with a better grace (a). He had the art of giving with humility, and of receiving with dignity.

This is Plutarch's picture of Pompey. It is a pity, it is defective in point of truth with respect to the most essential circumstance: I mean integrity and fidelity. We shall see in his life many facts, that falsify this praise, the most difficult of all to deserve for those who aspire at great eminence, and to sustain in it. On the contrary it will appear, that he often sought only to preserve the outside of probity; but at bottom that he was a man on whose friendship and professions no great dependance was to be had.

The beauty of his person in his youth. I return to his youth, in which were united the reality of merit and the powerful recommendation of all the graces of that time of life. His physiognomy was sweet and majestic; an air of fire entirely amiable denoted the most noble and exalted sentiments. His very manner of throwing back his hair, the tender and

(a) Προσῆν αὐτοῦ ταῖς δόξεσιν, καὶ τὸ σεμνὸν λαμπρόν τε καὶ τὸ ἀνεπαχθὲς διαβόηοντο.

lively cast of his eyes, had their resistless charms. He was thought to resemble the statues of Alexander; and the name of that great conqueror was given him; and he was highly pleased with it. The orator Philippus in pleading the cause for him, of which I have just been speaking, said, that no body ought to wonder if a Philip loved an Alexander.

Pompey was formed by nature to be beloved; and he no sooner appeared in the armies, than he won the hearts of the soldiery. His father very happily experienced this on a most important occasion. When he was incamped in the view of Cinna, who was besieging Rome, as I related above, Cinna by his intrigues endeavoured to debauch the troops of his adversary. One L. Terentius, who lay in the same tent with young Pompey, was to kill him, and others were to set fire to the General's tent. Pompey had information given him of this vile design at supper, and was so much master of himself as not to shew any sign of trouble, nor to give Terentius, who was at the same table, the least suspicion: he even continued the entertainment with more gaiety than before. The time for going to bed being come, he stole out of his tent, without being perceived by his companion, and doubled the guard around that of his father. In the mean time Terentius having got up, approached Pompey's bed, and thrust his sword several times through it. At the same instant the rest of the conspirators raised the army: and as the General was much hated, all were preparing to abandon him, and had struck their tents in order to set out. Strabo did not dare to shew himself. But his young son running throughout the whole army, endeavoured

to appease the troops, and mingled tears with his intreaties. At last finding he could not move them, he laid himself down along the gate of the camp, declaring that if they would quit it, they must do so by walking over his body. That sight touched them: and except eight hundred, who went to Cinna, all the rest remained faithful. These are the most remarkable circumstances related by Plutarch concerning the beginnings of the great Pompey. We shall soon see him at the head of armies, a General almost before having been a soldier.

Censors.

Cic. pro
domo, 83,
84.

The year 666 had Censors, who were L. Marcius Philippus, and M. Perperna. Those Magistrates acted according to the dictates of Cinna: and Philippus was not ashamed to strike out of the list of Senators Ap. Claudius his uncle, whose merit was equal to his birth. But he had been accused by a Tribune, and divested of the authority he exercised, through hatred for his attachment to the party of the nobility and Sylla. And this was the occasion of his being degraded from the rank of Senator; a disgrace not to himself, but Philippus, who having accepted the Censorship from the hands of the Tyrant of Rome, acted in consequence in support of the Tyranny. These Censors numbered the citizens, who were found to amount to four hundred and sixty three thousand: a number much greater than in preceding times, no doubt in effect of the late incorporation of the States of Italy into the freedom of Rome. They nominated L. Valerius Flaccus Prince of the Senate, who was of the same family with the Consul. This nomination proves, that Scaurus, before Prince of the Senate, was dead,

dead. For the person, who had once received that honourable title, retained it during life.

The following year, during which Cinna was Consul for the third time with Carbo, letters came to Rome from Sylla, which spread great alarm there. That General, after the taking of Athens, and the victories of Chæronea and Orchomenus, finding himself in a condition to make himself feared, wrote to the Senate a letter of complaint and reproach; retaining however the character of moderation he had hitherto piqued himself upon. He repeated all the services he had done the Commonwealth, as well from the time, when he had been only Questor in the war of Numidia, as afterwards, in different stations, against the Cimbri, in Cilicia, in the war with the Allies, and lastly during his Consulship. He talked in an high strain of his recent exploits against Mithridates, and enumerated all the Provinces he had reconquered from that Prince; Greece, Macedonia, Ionia, and Asia. He insisted particularly upon the asylum he had given in his camp to those illustrious fugitives, whom the violences of Cinna had driven out of Rome and Italy. To so many important services he opposed the unworthy treatment he had suffered; his honour branded by a decree, that declared him an enemy to his country; his house ruined; his friends massacred; and his wife and children reduced to fly through a thousand dangers in quest of safety with him. He concluded his letter with saying, that he was upon the point of returning to avenge both his friends and the Commonwealth, and to punish the authors of so many injustices and cruelties: but that all the other

A. R. 667.
Sylla's letters to the Senate.
Appian. Civil. l. 1.

citizens, old and new, had nothing to fear on his part.

Deputation of the Senate to Sylla.

Sylla's enemies had already made great preparations, and drawn together sea and land forces, with provisions and ammunition, in order to be in a condition to oppose him, when he should repass into Italy. They however could not prevent his letter from being read in the Senate, and the disposition of the Fathers to peace in effect. L. Valerius Flaccus, Prince of the Senate, made a speech on that head, to exhort that order to labour a reconciliation of the two parties: and those in Sylla's interest, such as feared him, and all the persons of worth in general, giving in to the advice of Flaccus, it was resolved to send a deputation to Sylla, to desire him in the name of the Senate to condescend to an accommodation with his adversaries, and to promise him all the security he could desire.

The Consuls assemble great forces.

The Senate also made the Consuls promise to raise no more troops, till Sylla had answered the proposals made to him: but far from keeping their word, having both caused themselves to be continued Consuls for the ensuing year, they made a tour throughout Italy, assembling troops, and transporting them with expedition to the coasts of Dalmatia, with design to go from thence by land against Sylla. Cinna's death disconcerted this design; which happened in the following manner.

A. R. 668. Cinna's death.

The first division of his army was already in Dalmatia. But the second having met with a storm, and been driven back to the coasts of Italy, the soldiers disbanded, saying that they would not go to make war against their fellow-citizens. The others, who were at Ancona, followed

followed this example, and declared, that they would not pass the sea. Cinna, then Consul for the fourth time, flew out violently against the Mutineers; and having assembled them, he undertook to reproach them, and to act with authority. He did not know, that an usurped power is always precarious and dependant; and that rigour is dangerous and often impracticable in regard to those, who do not think themselves obliged by the laws to continue in obedience. Besides which his soldiers were incensed against him on the account of young Pompey, who having come to his camp, and believing himself in danger, had withdrawn secretly. As he had disappeared suddenly, the troops, who loved him, were extremely troubled, and did not doubt, but that Cinna had caused him to be murdered. Accordingly when he took upon him to reprimand them, far from hearing him with submission, they rose upon him, and began to throw stones at him. Cinna would have fled; but seeing himself pursued by a Centurion sword in hand he fell upon his knees, and offered him a ring of great value, which he had on his finger. *I am not come to sign a * writing* said that officer fiercely, *but to deliver the Commonwealth from the most cruel and unjust of Tyrants:* and at the same time he ran his sword through him. It was an advantage to Cinna, as Velleius Vell. II. observes, to perish in a sedition of the soldiers: 24. he deserved the greatest of punishments, and could not have escaped them, had he fallen into Sylla's hands when victorious. But as to the praises, which the same Velleius gives his valour

Plut. in
Pomp.

* The ancients put their seals to the acts they signed, which was generally the ring they wore on their finger.

and bravery, I doubt whether we ought to agree with him. In every thing done by Cinna, I can discern nothing but the intrigues of a factious man; and if he domineered during three years in Rome, it was owing to Sylla's absence, and not to his own courage.

Carbo continues sole Consul.
Appian.

Carbo who remained alone at the head of his party, was at first in great perplexity. He made the troops in Dalmatia return; but as to himself, he was not in haste to go to Rome to hold the assemblies for electing a Collegue in the room of Cinna. The Tribunes were forced to menace him with a decree of the People for displacing himself. At length he came. But several obstacles, pretended bad omens, and some claps of thunder having twice broke up the assemblies, he continued sole Consul. That was undoubtedly his view. Carbo had not learnt by Cinna's misfortune to moderate his ambition; and he exceeded him in cruelty. Sex. Lucilius, who had been Tribune of the people the year before, and had opposed him upon some occasions, was thrown down the Tarpeian rock by order of Popilius Lænas then Tribune, and no doubt by the Consul's instigation; and the Collegues of Lucilius being accused, and having thought proper to fly to Sylla, were banished by sentence.

Sylla's answer to the Deputies of the Senate.
Appian.

In the mean time Sylla's answer arrived. He declared, "that he could never be reconciled to such enormous criminals, and the authors of so many violences: that however, if the Commonwealth would spare their lives, he would acquiesce. That as to his own safety, he should rely for that upon the affection of his army." (Remarkable words, says Appian, which shewed evidently, that he did not intend

intend to dismiss his troops, but that his design was to make himself Master of the Commonwealth.) He added, “ that it was but just to
 “ restore to him his fortune, the priesthood,
 “ and all the honours, of which his enemies
 “ had deprived him.” He ordered some of his followers to carry this answer to Rome; and they set out with the Deputies of the Senate. On their arrival at Brundisium, they were informed of Cinna’s death, and the confusion in which all things were, in the city. In consequence they did not judge it proper to proceed, and returned immediately to their General. Only the Deputies of the Senate therefore carried Sylla’s answer back, which seemed equitable and moderate. But Carbo was for war, and carried it. Accordingly every thing was prepared in Italy for opposing Sylla with vigour, who approached.

Carbo was even for taking a singular precaution, and exacting hostages from all the cities and colonies, to secure their fidelity. But the Senate opposed with vigour a project, the execution of which was upon the point of putting the flower of the Italian youth into the hands of a cruel man: and Carbo was obliged to give way. He even met with resistance from a municipal Magistrate, whose resolution was justly applauded. For the Consul going to Placentia to demand hostages, M. Castricius, who had the principal authority in that city, in plain terms refused to obey. Carbo was offended, threatened him, and told him he had many swords at his command. *And as for me*, replied Castricius coolly, *I am very old*: intimating thereby, that he little feared to lose the small remainder of life he had then to hope.

Whether

Carbo is for exacting hostages from the cities of Italy. Firmness of Castricius Magistrate of Placentia. Liv. Epict. lxxxiv. Val. Max. vi. 2, 10.

Whether this answer mollified Carbo, and touched him with some sense of shame, or that he was ill attended, or was afraid of the Senate, he did not venture to carry the affair farther, and Castricius came off for the menace.

During this same year some slight movements were made in Sylla's favour in Spain and Africa, but without any consequence. Crassus, then very young, was the author of those in Spain.

Adventures of Crassus. He makes some movements in Spain. Plut. in Crasso.

We have said before, that his father and eldest brother had been murdered, when Marius and Cinna made themselves masters of Rome. It was not without difficulty he had escaped himself with three friends and ten slaves : and as he had been some years before in Spain, and had contracted some acquaintance, when his father commanded the armies there, he resolved to retire thither. But on arriving there he found terror had spread universally, and Marius's cruelty was no less dreaded there, than if he had been present in person upon the spot. Crassus in consequence did not dare to make himself known ; and having found a great cave near the sea on the estate of one Vibius, he hid himself in it with all his followers. But it was necessary to subsist ; he therefore sent a slave to sound Vibius. He who was a generous friend, was charmed to hear, that Crassus had escaped Marius's fury, and to prevent his being discovered, he did not go to see him ; and ordered the Steward of his estate to provide every day eatables for fourteen persons, to carry those provisions to a certain stone, and to retire immediately without the least enquiry ; threatening him with death, if he gratified his curiosity, and promising him liberty,

liberty, if he behaved faithfully. The Steward every day carried provisions without seeing any body. But he was seen himself. Crassus and his people were upon the watch at the time this purveyor was to appear. When he withdrew, what he brought was fetched, and they made good cheer. For Vibius had given orders that his guests should be well entertained. Nor were they ill-lodged. The cave was spacious and commodious. It had a spring in it of very clear and good water, and received light by great clefts in many places. Crassus passed eight months in this retreat. When he received advice of Cinna's death, he made himself known; and had soon assembled two thousand five hundred men, with whom he visited different cities of Spain. But as those forces were not sufficient to support him in the country, he went to Africa, where Metellus Pius had formed a considerable body of troops. He did not stay there long; but having differed with Metellus, he retired to Sylla, who received him with great distinction.

Metellus himself did no great exploits in A-
frica. He was driven out of it by the Prætor C. Fabius; and obliged to regain his first retreat in the mountains of Liguria, where he remained concealed till the arrival of Sylla. He then joined him: and as he had the title of Proconsul, Sylla treated him as his equal, and caused the same honours to be paid him as were paid to himself. Sylla did not arrive in Italy till the year following in the Consulship of Scipio and Norbanus.

Metellus Pius driven out of Africa retires into Liguria, and then joins Sylla. Liv. Epit. Appian.

A. R. 660.
Ant. C. 83.

L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO ASIATICUS.
C. NORBANUS.

*Decree of
the Senate
for dis-
banding
all the ar-
mies*

Liv. Epist.

If Carbo did not cause himself to be continued in the Consulship for the third time, he at least took care to give himself successors entirely devoted to his party. The first use, which the new Consuls made of their authority, was to cause the Senate to pass a decree for disbanding all the armies. This was understanding their interests perfectly well. For, if this order had been executed, those who were actually in possession of the Government could not fail of supporting themselves in it. They also took care to make their court to the new citizens; and distributed the freedmen into the thirty-five tribes. These measures of policy were well taken: but only force could decide the quarrel.

*Prepara-
tions of the
Consuls a-
gainst Syl-
la.*

Plut. in
Sylla.

This they knew; and accordingly drew together prodigious numbers of troops; and Sylla wrote in his Commentaries, that when he came to Italy he had fifteen Generals against him, and four hundred and forty cohorts, that is, two hundred and twenty thousand foot. As for him, he had only his five legions, with some auxiliaries, troops of Achaia and Macedonia, and six thousand horse; the whole amounting to about forty thousand men. However with such unequal forces, he was full of confidence.

*Affection
of Sylla's
soldiers for
their Ge-
neral.*

One circumstance troubled him; which was, he was afraid that his soldiers, as soon as they arrived in Italy would disband, and retire to their own homes. They took care to remove that apprehension, by offering voluntarily to take

take an oath not to abandon their colours, and to commit no ravages in Italy. And farther, as they believed he might have occasion for money, they proposed to raise him a considerable sum by contribution. But he thanked them for their good will, and declared that their fidelity and attachment were every thing to him.

Sylla set out from Dyrrachium with a fleet of two hundred sail, landed happily, some say at Brundisium, and some at Tarentum. Perhaps his fleet was separated, and entered half into one port and half into another. He lost no time; and as soon as his troops had rested, he marched forwards, and crossed great part of Italy, causing so exact a discipline to be observed, that he seemed rather a minister of peace than a leader in war. Cities, Countries, Persons, were all treated with extreme favour; which did great honour to his arms, and gave birth to an opinion advantageous to his party. The unjust and cruel tyranny of his adversaries had opened his way. Rome and Italy considered it as not a little for their advantage to change masters; and despairing of the return of liberty, desired a mild servitude. Sylla penetrated as far as Campania without any opposition: and there Metellus Pius joined him, not with a great reinforcement of troops, but with increase of honour and reputation. For as Metellus was highly esteemed, and passed for an excellent citizen, no body doubted, but that the party he espoused, was the best: and such a confederate as him, was worth a great number of others to Sylla.

That General no less an able Captain than a great Warriour, desiring to continue to merit good-
A. R. 669.
Ant. C. 83.

Sylla lands
in Italy,
and ad-
vances as
far as
Campania
without
any obsta-
cle.

Dio apud
Vales.

Defeat of
Norbanus.
Plut. in
Sylla.

A. R. 669. good-will by pacific conduct, was no sooner in
 Ant. C. 83. view of the Consul Norbanus in Campania,
 than he sent Deputies to him to treat of an accommodation. This Consul behaved brutally, and used Sylla's Deputies ill; he could not have done him more service. Sylla's soldiers conceiving indignation, attacked the army of Norbanus with such fury, that they defeated it in an instant. Seven thousand fell upon the spot: the Camp was taken: the Consul was obliged to fly to Capua; and Sylla lost only an hundred and twenty men. This victory, so great in itself, was also very important in its consequences. It confirmed Sylla's troops in their attachment for their General: and nothing contributed more to render them faithful to their oath, and to prevent them from thinking of disbanding.

The Capitol burnt. Soon after this action the Capitol was burnt in one night, nor could the incendiaries ever be discovered. It is not easy to believe, that chance was the sole cause of this unhappy event, especially if we observe, that it had been foretold to Sylla. For a slave who pretended to be inspired, came to him in his camp, and after having promised him victory in the name of the Goddess Bellona; he added, that if he did not make haste the Capitol would be burnt: and he fixed the day, which actually was, as he had foretold, the sixth of July. This prediction might justly have indicated an accomplice, or at least a man informed of the plot. The burning of the Capitol passed for a sinister omen, and a proof of the wrath of heaven, as well as many other pretendedly marvellous events, which the superstition of the
 anci-

ancientest Historians makes them accumulate in abundance. As for us we should only despise them, either as fabulous, or as natural accidents, which they interpreted arbitrarily, and which gave terror only as their cause was unknown. The Books of the Sibyl were burnt with the Capitol, which had hitherto been religiously preserved; because it was the general persuasion, that they contained the fate of the Empire.

Sylla's first success must undoubtedly have much augmented his partisans. It is at this time, I date after Freinshemius the change of Cethegus, who had formerly been so violent an adversary of Sylla, that he was one of the twelve, who had been declared an enemy of his Country with Marius, and upon whose head a price had been set. This man came now to present himself as a suppliant to Sylla, and to offer him his services in every thing he should direct. He was of an intriguing factious spirit, of whom we shall have occasion to speak again in the sequel.

It is also at the same time we must date the treachery of Verres, Carbo's Quæstor. Tho' Carbo was no longer Consul, he had a command in Gallia Cisalpina. Verres who had been given him by lot as Quæstor or Treasurer of the preceding year, received the money, came to the General's camp, and on the first occasion went over to the side of the adverse party, without forgetting the military chest, much of which he appropriated to his own use. It was in this manner this robber, who was one day to ravage Sicily, began with thefts and rapine of the most odious dye. For as we have observed elsewhere; the Roman laws established a

A. R. 669.
Ant. C. 83.

Cethegus
goes over
to Sylla.
Appian.

Treachery
of Verres
to Carbo.
Cic.in Ver.
i. 34—40.

A. R. 669. strict tie between the Quæstor and his Consul
 Ant. C. 83. It was compared to that made by nature between a son and his father. Thus the infidelity of Verres to Carbo was held infinitely criminal. The traitor coloured it with the pretext of zeal for the better cause. But Cicero shews him what he ought to have done, if that had been his motive, in the example of M. Pius, who being appointed Quæstor to L. Scipio, Carbo's successor in the Consulship, would neither receive the money, nor go to the army; thereby acting conformably to his inclination for the cause of the Nobility, without departing from engagements, that every honest man considered as sacred. Verres's conduct is therefore deemed a treason in the strongest sense; and Cicero shews the enormity of it by maxims entirely judicious. " There (a) " are, says he, no snares more secret and inevitable, than those disguised under the outside of friendship and the most sacred ties. " For those laid by a declared adversary may " easily be avoided with precaution: whereas " as domestic and intestine perfidy is not " only latent, but destroys before you can see " or detect it. All men therefore ought to " be shocked at treachery. (b) An enemy " to his own friends is the common enemy of

(a) Nullæ sunt occultiores insidiæ, quàm eæ quæ latent in simulatione officii, aut in aliquo necessitudinis nomine. Nam eum qui palam est adversarius, faciliè cavendo vitare possis. Hoc verò occultum, intestinum, ac domesticum malum, non modò non existit, verùm etiam opprimis, antequam

prospicere atque explorare potueris. *Cic. l. i. in Verr.* n. 39.

(b) Omnium est communis inimicus, qui fuit hostis suorum. Nemo unquam sapiens proditori credendum putavit—Sylla habuit honorem ut proditori, non ut amico fideret. n. 33.

" mankind.

“ mankind. No wise man ever believed he
 “ ought to trust a traitor. Accordingly Syl-
 “ la removed Verres from his person; and if
 “ he afterwards suffered him to enrich himself,
 “ with the persons, he rewarded him as a trai-
 “ tor; but he took care to repose no confi-
 “ dence in him as a friend.”

Sylla's first advantage was soon followed by a second still more considerable, and which cost him less. Finding himself incamped opposite to L. Scipio near * Teanum, he entered into a second negotiation, either in earnest, or, as is most probable, to amuse him, and have time for debauching his army. The two Generals had an interview, in which some preliminaries were apparently concluded, as there was a suspension of arms, and hostages given on both sides. Only the Consul said, that he could conclude nothing without previously consulting his Colleague: and Sertorius was dispatched for that purpose to Norbanus. It was no easy matter to deceive Sertorius: he advised Scipio to be upon his guard against the fraud of his enemy; and on his way seeing occasion to seize Sueffa, which had espoused the adverse party, he did so, less perhaps with the view of making himself master of an important post, than to disconcert a peace, that he apprehended more than a war. The sequel shewed the justness of his suspicions. Sylla having complained of the taking of Sueffa, as an infraction of the truce, Scipio returned him his hostages; thereby admitting, that it was wrong, and a breach of his engagements. This fact is a remarkable period, upon which Sylla will animadvert at the time of the proscription.

* *Hod. Tiano in the Terra de Labaro.*

A. R. 669.
A.D. C. 83.

All this conduct of Scipio's prejudiced his army against him, which was already half brought over by the soldiers of the contrary party. For the latter by their General's instruction, and as Plutarch says, like decoy-birds, that draw others into the snare, had taken the advantage of the truce for corrupting the Consul's troops by money, promises, and every kind of means. In consequence, when Sylla presented himself before the gates of the enemy's camp, they were opened to him; he entered without drawing the sword, and all Scipio's army, that consisted of twenty thousand men, went over to his colours. The Consul deceived by his credulity and abandoned by all, remained alone in his tent with his son. Sylla made a generous use of his advantages, and gave the two prisoners entire liberty. He treated, either on this, or some other occasion, the brave Sertorius in the same manner; who, seeing how affairs were likely to go in Italy, and judging from the incapacity of the Generals, that every thing would go on from bad to worse, he resolved to retire into Spain, of which the command had fallen to him after his Prætorship, and there to secure an asylum both for himself and his friends.

*Sertorius
goes to
Spain.*

Sylla, by the retreat of Sertorius, had the field open: and being rid of the only opponent capable of facing him, if his credit and authority had been as great as his merit, he found no difficulty in overcoming the rest, uniting always artifice with force, and intrigue with the sword. Carbo knew him perfectly well, and said, "that in Sylla alone he had a lion and a fox to deal with; but that he was more afraid of the fox than the lion."

*Saying of
Carbo con-
cerning
Sylla.*

The

The power of Sylla's enemies was however formidable, and he stood in need of several armies and generals to oppose them. He therefore appointed Crassus to go into the country of the Marfi, to raise troops for him. As it was necessary to pass through the enemy, Crassus asked an escort of him. *I give you for your guard,* replied Sylla, *your father, brother, and all your relations, unjustly slain, and for whom I am pursuing revenge.* Crassus, struck with so pointed a reply, set out immediately, and having boldly and happily passed through the enemy, he arrived in the country of the Marfi, made considerable levies, and did Sylla important services on several occasions.

A. R. 669.
Ant. C. 83.

Saying of Sylla to Crassus.
Plut. in Crasso.

Another Roman, still younger than Crassus, distinguished himself much more. This was Pompey, who had at that time, being only three and twenty years old, shewed that in superior geniuses merit does not depend upon maturity of age. He was in * Picenum; and seeing that the most illustrious citizens and most worthy persons repaired from all sides to Sylla's camp, as to a port, where they sought for safety, for himself he did not think it proper to repair thither, as wanting aid, but on the contrary to head a reinforcement thither, and to be considered upon the foot of an useful friend, and one in a condition to do service. Picenum abounded with his clients; and he had acquired universal esteem as to military merit, being a stranger to idleness and pleasure, and day and night employed in the exercises necessary to form a warrior. He was simple, and even austere, in his manner of life, so as to

Pompey at twenty-three years of age, raises an army of three legions.
Plut. in Pomp.

Diod. apud Vales.

* Now called the Marquisate of Anconia.

A. R. 669.
Ant. C. 53.

abstain from the bath, which in those times was conceived a kind of necessity; and eat not lying upon a bed, as was the custom, but sitting: he gave less time to sleep than nature requires; and, in a word, knew no other recreation, but change of labour.

Having in consequence acquired a great name by this conduct, as soon as he began to sound the inhabitants of Picenum, he found them ready to march under his command; and one Vindius having treated him as a young scholar, that was for assuming the Orator, he was torn in pieces upon the spot by the audience. Pompey took advantage of this disposition; and without having received authority to command from any one, but making himself General, he caused a tribunal to be erected for him in the midst of the Forum of Auximum*: from thence he expelled the Ventidii, the principal citizens of that place, who adhered to Carbo: he then raised soldiers, divided them into companies and cohorts; and making the tour of the neighbouring cities, all of which anticipated his desires, he soon formed three legions, well supplied with provisions, carriages, and all other necessary munitions. He then set out to join Sylla, not by hasty marches, nor as if he was avoiding the pursuit of an enemy, but halting as much as was commodious, ravaging the lands of the adverse party, and drawing over all those that he could engage.

*His first
victories.*

Three armies commanded by three Generals, Brutus, Coelius and Carrinas, concerted together to surround him. Pompey behaved like an able General. He marched with all his

* *Ofimo.*

forces

forces against Brutus alone and put him to flight, after having given proofs of his personal bravery in the battle, and killed a Gaulish horseman, that advanced out of the ranks with his own hands. After having ridded himself of this army, the misunderstanding of the leaders delivered him from the two others, who drew off each a different way. The Consul Scipio, who had taken the advantage of the liberty Sylla had given him for putting himself at the head of a new army, came also against that young General. But he experienced on this occasion the same fortune, he had met with against Sylla: all his troops abandoned him: And lastly, near the river * Esis Pompey defeated a great body of cavalry commanded by Carbo in person.

Sylla knew nothing yet of all these successes: and on the first news he received of Pompey's motions, apprehending for a young man without experience, whom he saw surrounded with enemies, he began his march in order to aid him. When Pompey was apprized of this at some small distance, he commanded his officers to make the soldiers stand to their arms, and to draw them up in the best order, to render the sight of them agreeable to Sylla; for he expected to receive great honours from him, and did so beyond his expectation. Accordingly, when Sylla saw him advance towards him with chearful troops, well equipped, and full of courage, and whose victories had inspired them with an air of joy and triumph, he was so charmed, that when Pompey saluted

A. R. 669.
Ant. C. 83.

*He joins
Sylla, who
pays him
great ho-
nours.*

* *Hod Fiemusino.*

M 4

him;

A. R. 669.
A. C. 83.

him, as was proper, with the name of * *Imperator*, he returned him the same compliment and title. And he observed the same behaviour to him ever after. Pompey was almost the only one of all the Nobility and illustrious persons about Sylla, to whom he rose and uncovered himself.

*Antipathy
between
Pompey
and
Crassus.
Plut. in
Crass.*

These singular honours excited the envy of Crassus, who did not receive the same; and that was the source of the antipathy, which long prevailed between them. Crassus had however no cause to complain. His services did not equal those of Pompey; and besides his avarice and lust of gain, which vices appeared in him from his earliest youth, and continually increased with age, disgraced every thing he could do of praise-worthy.

*Modesty
and regard
of Pompey
for Metel-
lus Pius.
Plut. in
Pomp.*

Pompey did not forget himself in the midst of so much glory: and Sylla desiring to send him into Gallia Cisalpina, to succeed Metellus Pius, who wanted fire in the operations of war, and did not much promote affairs, he had the moderation to represent to him, that it was not consistent for him to displace a man who was his Superiour both by age and a long established reputation. He added that however if Metellus asked him as a Colleague, he would not refuse to march. The thing was executed according to this plan; and Pompey when he arrived in Gaul, not only did great actions himself, but by his activity animated, and warmed the slowness of Metellus.

* This word signifies General: and in a stricter sense, was a title of honour given to those who had gained some considerable victory. It is in this second sense Sylla uses it to Pompey.

In the mean time the new Consuls Marius Junior and Carbo entered upon office, the latter of whom then resumed the fasces for the third time. Marius was very young, and the authors, who give him most years, make him but twenty-six or twenty-seven. Nothing was more irregular than that election. But laws were unregarded. The young Consuls's mother had the sense to lament that untimely honour, which she foresaw would prove fatal to her son.

A. R. 669.
Ant. C. 83.
Carbo Consul for the third time with Metellus Pius.
Vell. ii. 26.
Appian.
Auct. de vir. illust. in Mar. Filio.

C. MARIUS.

CN. PAPIRIUS CARBO III.

A. R. 670.
Ant. C. 84.

This year, or during the preceding, Muræna, who had been left by Sylla in Asia, as we have said, renewed the war with Mithridates. I refer speaking of it to another place.

A detached fact shall have its place here. C. Fabius, who had driven Metellus Pius from Africa, where he governed as Prætor, a fit minister for the Marii and Carbo's, made himself so odious by his rapines, cruelties, and the horrible scheme of raising the slaves, and inducing them to murder their masters, that the Roman citizens, settled in great numbers in Utica, burnt him alive in his own palace. And this violence was considered only as a just revenge, on the occasion of which there was neither information nor prosecution at Rome. Perhaps the Romans were too much engrossed by the calamities they were under, to think of a remote affair. For the civil war continued in Italy with more fury than ever: and the Consuls wanting money to pay their troops, caused the Senate to pass a decree for coining all

Fabius the Prætor is burnt in his palace at Utica.
Freinsh. lxxxvi. 3.

A. R. 670. all the gold and silver ornaments in the temples
 Ant. C. 82. of Rome.

Advantages gained by Sylla's Lieutenants. I shall not expatiate upon the advantages gained by the Lieutenants of Sylla, Metellus, Pompey, Crassus, and M. Lucilius, the brother of him, of whom we have spoke more than once before, and who was actually in Asia. We have little account of all these facts. Let it suffice for me to observe, that Sylla's party was almost every where victorious, and that in a very great number of actions he suffered some loss only in a very few. I shall confine myself to Sylla's own exploits; for they are the most important and affecting.

He makes a treaty with the States of Italy. His Confidence. Sylla, always intent upon lessening the number of his enemies, engaged himself by a solemn treaty with the states of Italy, to obtain for them the rights and privileges of Roman citizens, which had been granted them. This treaty, Liv. Epit. which drew off so great a number of adherents from the faction of Marius, was not one of the least proper measures for augmenting the confidence, which Sylla had of overcoming; and which was so great that when Orators applied to him in behalf of their clients, he referred the hearing their affair, till he should be at Rome; and this whilst his adversaries bore sway in the city, and filled Italy with their armies.

Massacres decreed by the Consul Marius, and executed. The Consul Marius thought in the same manner, and did not doubt but Sylla would be victorious in the end. This was a motive to induce him to commit the most horrible barbarity; and apprehending, that those he designed to destroy might escape him, he hastened his revenge while it was still in his power. The Prætor Brutus Damasippus commanded in Rome in the absence of the Consuls, who had both

Vell. ii. 26.
 Appian.

both left it to put themselves at the head of the armies. Marius wrote to that Prætor from his camp, to order him to massacre the heads of Sylla's faction, that is, the principal persons of the Senate and Nobility. Damasippus was an abandoned wretch, devoted to all the excesses of the party he had embraced. He accordingly made no scruple to execute that inhuman order, and uniting perfidy with cruelty, he assembled the Senate under some pretext, and afterwards caused murderers to enter, who butchered a very great number of the Senators. History has preserved the names of four of the principal, Carbo Arvina, a near relation of Carbo, Consul of the year of which we are relating the events, and the only one of that family who was a good citizen in Cicero's opinion, P. Antistius, Pompey's father-in-law, L. Domitius, and lastly Q. Scævola the Pontifex Maximus. A. R. 670.
Ant. C. 82.
Cic. ad
Fann. IX.
21.

That venerable old man had rightly foreseen, that he had no other fate to expect. But at-
 rached as he was to the strictest observance of every duty, though he deemed Sylla's the better party, he could not approve violence and civil war; and he said, that he chose rather to expose himself to perishing by the sword of his enemies, than to come in arms to assault the walls of his country. When he saw himself upon the point of being attacked, he endeavoured to fly, and even got to the porch of Vesta's temple. But the murderers overtook and killed him. *Death of Scævola the Pontifex Max.*
Cic. ad.
Art. VIII.

Damasippus, according to the barbarous custom established during some time at Rome, extended his cruelty even beyond the deaths of these illustrious personages. The body of
 Carbo

A. R. 670. Carbo Arvina, whose head had been cut off,
 Ant. C. 82. was placed upon a gibbet, and carried through
 the city. The rest were dragged with hooks
 through the streets, and thrown into the Tiber.
 The wife of Antistius, who was called Calpur-
 nia, through excess of grief for the unhappy
 death of her husband, killed herself.

*Battle of
 Sacripor-
 tus, in
 which
 Marius is
 defeated
 by Sylla.
 * Signi,
 † Palef-
 trina.
 Plut. in
 Syll. &
 Appian.*

These cruelties did not long precede the entire
 defeat of Marius by Sylla. The battle was
 fought near a place called *Sacriportus* between
 * Signia and † Præneste. The night before it
 Sylla had a dream, which gave him great hopes.
 He believed, that he saw old Marius bidding
 his son beware of the next day, as of one, that
 was to be unfortunate to him. Sylla in conse-
 quence, prejudiced as he was in favour of
 omens, dreams, and every kind of divination,
 desired extremely to fight. But his soldiers,
 when they came in view of the enemy, were so fa-
 tired by a long march they had made in a great
 rain, that they threw themselves upon the ground,
 lying upon their shields in order to rest. Sylla
 therefore was obliged to order, that they should
 intrench, and they immediately began to em-
 ploy themselves in forming a camp. But
 Marius coming on to attack them with haughti-
 ness and menaces, whilst they were at work,
 those old soldiers believed themselves insulted.
 Indignation made them find new strength: and
 planting their half pikes upon the side of the
 trench they had already dug, they advanced
 against the enemy sword in hand. The battle
 was warm. But Marius's left wing soon begin-
 ning to give way, five cohorts and two squa-
 drons went over to Sylla. This desertion dis-
 couraged the rest: in a moment the flight be-
 came general, and all endeavoured to retire to
 Præneste.

Præneste. Sylla pursued them with vigour ; A. R. 670.
Ant. C. 62. infomuch that the People of Præneste apprehended, that he would enter the city with those that fled, and shut their gates. It was here that the greatest slaughter was made. Marius, who on arriving found the gates shut, was drawn into the city over the walls with a cord. Sylla in his Commentaries said, that he lost only twenty three soldiers in this action, and that he killed twenty thousand of the enemy, and made eight thousand prisoners. Of those prisoners all the Samnites were put to the sword by his order : he considered that nation as the implacable enemy of the Roman name.

The city of Præneste was very strong ; and Siege of
Præneste. it was necessary to besiege it in form. Sylla gave the command of that siege to Lucretius Ofella, who some little time before had quitted Carbo's party to come over to his. Appian says, that this Ofella was only a Roman Knight : Velleius affirms, that he had been Prætor. However it were, it appears that he was an obscure person, and that it was solely on account of his obscurity Sylla gave him that important command. For Dio observes, that Diodapud
Vales. Sylla began now to take off the mask, and that instead of expressing, as he had done hitherto, the highest regard for the Nobility, that surrounded him, and constituted the glory and strength of his party, as soon as he saw himself superior to his affairs, he neglected them, and preferred persons of no birth to them, who came in more readily to his views, and did not share with him in the honour of successes. A conduct full of ingratitude, but too common with the ambitious, who regard persons only in proportion to the occasion they have for them, and

A. R. 670.
Ant. C. 82.

as soon as they can do without them, reckon services received as nothing.

*Sylla is
received
into Rome.
Appian.*

Whilst Lucretius Ofella besieged Marius in Præneste, Sylla marched towards Rome, perceiving of what importance it was to him to take the capitol of the empire from his enemies, and considering that conquest with reason as the fruit of all his other victories. He was received into it without difficulty. There was a famine in the city; where so many successive vicissitudes in a small number of years had accustomed the people to submit to the law of the strongest. All Sylla's adversaries had fled on his approach. He caused their estates to be sold by auction; and having assembled the people, he deplored the necessity he was in of revenging himself by arms: he exhorted all the citizens to take courage, and promised them, that in a little time tranquillity should be re-established in the city, and the government placed upon its ancient foot. Fine promises, that his actions soon grossly belied.

*Vain ef-
forts to
succour
Præneste.
Norbanus
and Carbo
abandon
Italy.*

During this, Marius's party put themselves in motion to succour Præneste, but that was to no purpose. Sylla, either by himself or his Lieutenants, on every occasion defeated the different bodies of troops, who attempted to aid it. And these defeats being continually repeated, the principal chiefs despaired entirely of success, and abandoned Italy. Norbanus retired to Rhodes, and Carbo to Africa. They however left behind them formidable forces; and besides several Roman Generals, an army of forty thousand Lucanians and Samnites, commanded by three valiant and experienced Generals, M. Lamponius, Pontius Telesinus, and Gutta of Capua, gave Sylla terrible alarms.

That

That army, joined by Carrinus, Damasippus, and some other heads of the same party, had attempted ineffectually to force the defiles, through which it was necessary to pass, in order to approach Prænestæ, and which were guarded by Sylla. At length seeing Sylla in front, and knowing that Pompey was coming on to take them in the rear, Telesinus, a great Captain and a man of ability, formed the design of marching to attack Rome, which was actually without defence; and he was very near succeeding in it. For having set out in the night, he concealed his march so dexterously from his adversaries, that he arrived at half a league from the city, on the side of the gate Collina, without meeting any obstacle, highly elate and proud of having over-reached so many Generals. The consternation was as great in Rome, as formerly, when Hannibal was at the gates; and the danger was not less. Nothing was seen, but people running about in confusion, nor heard but the lamentable cries of women and children, who deplored their misfortune, and apprehended every thing that can be feared by a city taken by storm. At day-break the flower of the Roman youth quitted the city on horseback, in order to reconnoitre the enemy, and to skirmish. Many were killed, and amongst others one Ap. Claudius. At length Balbus sent by Sylla with seven hundred horse appeared in sight. He had advanced full speed; and having taken breath but a few moments, he immediately moved on to harass and amuse the Samnites, till Sylla's arrival, who actually came up soon after with his whole army, and who as the troops arrived, made them refresh themselves in haste, and drew them up at the same time

A. R. 670.
Ant. C. 82.
Last battle fought at the gates of Rome, between Sylla and the Samnites.
Plut. in Sylla.

A. R. 670.
Ant. C. 80.

time in order of battle. Dolabella and Torquatus, two of the principal Officers, represented to him, that it would be most expedient not immediately to expose the troops to a battle, fatigued with a long march. He gave no ear to them, and caused the charge to be sounded. It was the first of November, at three in the afternoon.

The battle was one of the rudest. Hatred exalted the courage of the soldiers on both sides: and never was interest greater, as the fate of the city of Rome was the question, before which they fought. Sylla's right-wing, commanded by Crassus, was entirely victorious; but it removed from the field of battle, and pursued the enemy a great way. The left, in which was the General in person, suffered exceedingly, and found it difficult to keep their ground. Sylla did not spare himself: he went from rank to rank, mounted on a fine white horse, full of fire, and very swift. Two of the enemy knew him, and prepared to discharge their javelins at him. Happily his squire perceived them, and giving his master's horse a stroke with a whip, he made him spring forwards so luckily, that the two javelins fell at some distance behind the horse.

In the mean time Telesinus encouraged his Samnites, crying out to them, “(a) that this
“ was the last day of the Romans; that it
“ was necessary, to take and ruin their city;
“ that they should never be delivered from
“ those voracious wolves, if their den were

(a) Adeſſe Romanis ultimum diem: eruendam delendamque urbem: nunquam defuturos raptores I-

talicæ libertatis lupos, niſi ſylva, in quam refugere ſolerent, eſſet exciſa. *Vell. II.*
27.

“not destroyed.” Sylla was then in greater danger than ever he had been during his life. A. R. 670.
Ant. C. 82.

Whether through superstition, or to make his troops resume courage, he took out of his bosom a small figure of Apollo Pythius, which he had brought from Delphi, and always carried about him: and kissing it, and addressing himself to it, “O Apollo, said he, after having rendered the fortunate Sylla victorious on so many occasions, have you brought him to the gates of his country, only that he may perish there shamefully with his fellow citizens?” At the same time he animated his troops to behave well, with prayers, menaces, and even taking some of them by the arm to face about. Every thing was ineffectual: the confusion increased continually; and himself drawn along with those who fled, was obliged to give way before the victorious enemy, having lost a great number of persons of distinction. Many, who had quitted Rome to be spectators of the battle, paid dearly for their curiosity, and were either killed or crushed to death. The alarm was so great, that the siege of Præneste was very near being raised; because some were carried that way by the flight, who told Lucretius Ofella, that all was lost, that Sylla was conquered; and the city of Rome was taken.

Sylla at length recovered the superiority, without our being able to say in what manner, for want of sufficient accounts. What we know Vell. II.
17. is, that after an hour in the night, the Romans began to respire, and the Samnites to have the disadvantage; that the armies fought till very late in the night; that Pontius Telesinus was mortally wounded, and found the next day

A. R. 670.
Ant. C. 82.

upon the field of battle, being still alive, and retaining the haughty air, which even the approaches of death could not make him lose. His camp was taken ; and his army cut to pieces and dispersed. For Sylla had forbade giving them any quarter.

Strabo.
V. 249.
Plut.

When the night was very far advanced, Sylla received news of Crassus, who had pursued the enemy as far as the city of Antemnæ, above two leagues beyond Rome. He asked refreshments for his soldiers, who had incamped on the very spot, where they had given over the pursuit. He would have spared his General much danger and anxiety, if after having put the enemy's wing, that opposed him, to flight, he had only sent after them some troops to prevent them from rallying, and had returned with the best part of his forces to the aid of the left wing of the Romans.

Change in
Sylla's
manners.

This victory of Sylla's gave the last blow to Marius's party, and the league of the allies : (a) and the victor would have been the most fortunate and most glorious of mankind, if he had ceased to live the day he had compleated his conquests. But he disgraced his victory by the vilest and most detestable cruelties : which must appear the more astonishing, as hitherto he had acted with moderation and lenity, and was naturally even gay and facetious ; a character, that does not seem to denote a disposition to become cruel. On the contrary, he had appeared compassionate, and had been seen frequently to soften even into tears. For as to Marius, he was cruel by nature ; and supreme power had only

(a) Felicis nomen usur- & vincendi & vivendi finem
passet justissimè, si eundem habuisset. *Pell. II. 27.*
increased,

increased, and not changed, his disposition. A. R. 670.
Ant. C. 82.
This was not the same with respect to Sylla: and his (a) example suffices to decry prosperity and absolute power, for rendering men proud, insolent, and inhuman; whether it really changes their manners, or only discovers those vices, which would otherwise remain concealed.

The first stroke by which he evidenced the *Six thousand* taste he had conceived for cruelty, was the *and pri-* murdering of six or seven thousand prisoners. *soners are* Three thousand men after the battle having offered to surrender to him, he promised them *massacred* their lives, if they would deserve that grace by *by his* attacking their companions, who were not yet defeated. They did so; and in the fight that ensued, many having been killed on both sides, all that remained of the two bodies to the number of six thousand men surrendered to him upon his parole. He assembled them all in the same place, giving them hopes that he would distribute them into his legions. But he ordered, that they should be massacred at the time, that he was holding the Senate in the temple of Bellona not far from that place. And this action so horrible in itself is not the most shocking circumstance relating to the affair. On the terrible cry raised by those wretches when they saw themselves on the point of being butchered, the whole Senate expressing concern, Sylla never changed countenance; but with a

(a) Εἰκότως προσετρίψατο ταῖς μεγάλαις ἐξουσίαις διαβολὴν, ὡς τὰ ἤδη μένειν ἐκ εἰώσαις ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τρόπων, ἀλλ' ἐμπληκία καὶ χαῦνα καὶ ἀπ' ἀνδρῶνα ποιέσαις.—

εἴτε κίνησις ἐστὶ καὶ μεταβολὴ φύσει ὑπὸ τύχης, εἴτε μᾶλλον ὑποκείμενης, ἀποκάλυψις ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ κακίας. Plut. in Sylla.

A. R. 670. cool air and a tranquillity scarce to be expected
 Ant. C. 82. from a tyrant inured in blood from his infancy ;
 (a) *Fathers*, said he to the Senators, *favour me*
with your attention ; it is only a small number
of seditious, that are putting to death by my
order.

Rome filled with murders. This slaughter was a kind of signal for the
 Sallust. following days. One of the first victims of
 Catil. Sulla's vengeance was the cruel Damasippus,
 n. 31. whose death all the world approved. If the
 victor had destroyed only such pests of the pub-
 lick, the joy of the people had been universal.
 But he inveterately pursued all the remains of
 the conquered party : besides which, those
 about him, and such as had most credit with
 him, ridded themselves by his authority and
 consent, either of their personal enemies, or
 even of those, whose fortunes they desired.

Prescription. In the midst of so many horrors, the Senate
 being assembled, murmurs and complaints were
 Plut. vented : and Q. Catulus, the son of him whom
 Syll. Marius had caused to be put to death, ventured
 Orat. to raise his voice and to say aloud : *How then*
 V. 21. *are we to live, if we kill those in battle who*
 Flor. III. *have arms in their hands, and in peace those who*
 21. *have none ?* A young man called C. Metellus
 went farther ; and addressing himself to Sylla
 in person, he asked him what end the publick ca-
 lamities were to have. *For*, added he, *we do*
not seek to save those you have condemned to perish ;
but it is just that those, whose lives you intend to
spare, should be put out of their pain. Sylla
 having replied, that he had not yet determined

(a) Hoc agamus, P. C. occidentur. Sen. de Clero.
 Seditiosi pauculi meo jussu l. 12.

who those were, to whom his grace should extend, one Furfidius, a mean man and an abject flatterer, took upon him to speak thus: *Well then, let us know, who these are you have condemned.* Sylla replied, he would do so: and in this manner was introduced that proscription, which even now strikes us with horror after so many ages.

For the next day Sylla, without taking the Plut. advice of any of the persons in office, caused a list of fourscore names to be made out, and fixed upon the Forum, at the head of which were the two Consuls of the year, Carbo and Marius; then Scipio and Norbanus; who had been Consuls the year before; next Sertorius; and lastly all those who had distinguished themselves most amongst the enemies of the victorious party. The next day came out a new list of two hundred and twenty; and the third of a like number. And Sylla haranguing the people upon this head, told them, that he had proscribed such as he remembered, and that in proportion as others should occur to his Appian, memory, he would proscribe them. He added, that he would pardon none of his enemies, and that he would treat with the utmost rigour all those, who, from the day Scipio had broken the treaty with him and his promise, had done the contrary party any service, either in commanding armies, or as Quæstors or Tribunes of the soldiers, or in a word in any manner whatsoever.

We see here the extent he gave his revenge, and how great the number of criminals was to be. Search was made after them both in Rome, and throughout all Italy. It was a crime to have carried arms under Carbo, Norbanus, or Ma-

A. R. 670. rius ; to have paid the taxes they had imposed ;
 Ant. C. 82. in a word, to have aided them either with
 counsel, provisions, or money. The ties of
 friendship and hospitality, common interest in
 affairs, to have lent or borrowed money of any
 one of Sylla's enemies ; sufficed for being con-
 demned. We must observe, that it was prin-
 cipally against the rich, that all these heads of
 accusation were made to take place. After this
 account, it is easy to conceive, that the number
 of the proscribed increased to such a degree, that
 Val. Max. IX. 2. it was made to amount to four thousand seven
 hundred, of which two thousand were Knights
 and Senators. And the tyrant was so far from
 being ashamed of such detestable barbarity,
 that he caused the names of this multitude
 of the proscribed to be inserted in the pub-
 lick Registers ; as if the question had been
 some glorious exploit, of which it was ne-
 cessary to transmit the remembrance to poste-
 rity.

Plut.

The edict of proscription punished com-
 passion and humanity as crimes, making it death
 to receive a proscribed person, or to give him
 refuge, without excepting father, brother, or
 son. On the contrary two talents were promised
 to the assassins as a reward for each murder,
 though it should be even a slave, that should
 kill his master, or a son his father. Besides
 which, the estates of the proscribed were con-
 fiscated, and, what seemed the most unjust,
 their sons and grandsons were declared incapa-
 ble of possessing any office. This last circum-
 stance has been much censured by many writers :
 but none have painted it with more force than
 Sallust, who makes Lepidus speak to this
 effect.

effect. (a) *Sylla was the only one, since the crea-* A. R. 670.
Ant. C. 82.
tion of man, that conceived punishments for those
not yet in being; for whom injury was provided
and fixed, even before life itself.

The proscription was not confined to Rome: it was extended, as we have said, to all the cities of Italy: and neither temple, private dwelling, nor father's house, was a place of safety. Husbands were butchered in their wives arms, and sons in those of their mothers. Even wives were included in this fatal slaughter, and given up to the swords of the murderers. And the number of those, who were sacrificed to revenge and resentment, was very short of such as were proscribed upon account of their riches. The assassins themselves frequently said, that such an one owed his condemnation and death to a fine house that he possessed; another to his gardens; and a third to his hot baths.

Plutarch in particular cites one Q. Aurelius, a peaceable man, who never intermeddled in any affairs, who had no other share in the calamities of his country than the compassion, which he felt for the misfortunes of others. This man having applied himself to read the list of the proscribed, only out of curiosity, perceived his own name in it. *Unfortunate man!* cried he; *it is my estate at Alba, that proscribes me:* and some paces from thence his throat was cut.

Another found himself in the same case, but Diodor. with an essential difference: this was, that he apud.
Vales. insulted the unfortunate, and vented his malig-

(a) *Quin solus omnium posuit, quis prius injuria post memoriam hominum quam vita certa esset. Sall. Hist. l.*
supplicia in postfuturos com-

A. R. 670.
Ant. C. 82. nant and odious reflections on every name he read (*a*). The divine justice, as Diodorus Siculus observes, punished him for it in the fact. His own name was upon the fatal list. When he saw it, he was struck dumb, and was for making off by stealth; but he was discovered, and put to the sword.

*Cruelties
of Catili-
na. Horrid
punishment
of Marius
Gratidia-
nus.
Plut.*

Sen. de
Ira. III.
Val. Max.
IX. 2.

Historians have left us few accounts of the particular facts, which relate to this proscription. What we know of most circumstantial, are the exploits of Catilina, who now first commenced to perpetrate the greatest crimes. He began by killing his brother, and afterwards prevailed on Sylla to have him inserted amongst the proscribed. To express his gratitude for this horrible favour, he charged himself with the punishment of M. Marius Gratidianus, whom (*b*) Sylla had condemned to be sacrificed upon the tomb of Catulus, a man of great lenity, and who would have been very far from desiring such a revenge. But this was by way of reprisal for the death of L. Cæsar, murdered some years before by the contrary faction on the tomb of Q. Varius.

The unfortunate Gratidianus, who had been almost adored by the Roman People, was in consequence dragged through the streets of Rome to the other side of the Tiber, and whipped with rods by executioners all the way. When he came to the place of punishment, Catilina caused his eyes to be pulled out, his hands and tongue to be cut off, the bones of

(*a*) Ἔβλα ὁ δὲ δαίμονιον
πρὸς ἑμὲ σὺ τῷ διασφύρει
τῇ τῶν ἀκλεσιῶν τέχῃ, ἐπέ-
θηκε τῇ πρέπουσας τῇ κακίᾳ
σιμυρίαν. Diod.

(*b*) Catilina M. Marium
ante bustum Q. Catuli car-
pebat, gravissimus mitissimi
viri cineribus. Senec.

his thighs to be broken, and after having tormented him in this manner in every part of his body, he put an end to his punishment and life, by cutting off his head. A Senator, who was present at this horrible sight, having been taken ill and swooning away, was killed upon the spot. Catilina took the head of Gratidianus bleeding fresh, and brought it to Sylla's feet in the Forum: after which to add impiety to inhumanity, he went to wash his hands at the font of purifying water in the Temple of Apollo.

Catilina deserved reward from Sylla. He was accordingly placed at the head of the Gaulish soldiers, who performed most of these cruel executions. With their aid he destroyed a great number of the Knights of greatest distinction, amongst whom was Q. Cæcilius his brother-in-law, whom he killed with his own hand.

Cicero gives us also a circumstance, which *Oppianicus* will shew in what manner private revenges were practised under the colour of Sylla's. *Oppianicus*, a Roman Knight of the city of Larinum in Apulia, a man who had committed the greatest crimes, having caused his wife's brother to be assassinated, that his own Son might have the sole inheritance of a grandmother's estate, was threatened by the relations of the deceased, that if they could discover proofs, they would prosecute him juridically. That wretch repaired to Rome and got a commission from Sylla; and when he returned to Larinum with soldiers, he caused all who had threatened to accuse him to be put to death.

wife, and consequently cousin german of young Marius, then Consul. He had contracted a new engagement with that party, by marrying the daughter of Cinna, whom all the power of the conqueror Sylla could not induce him to repudiate. He was therefore obliged to hide himself, and though he had actually the quartan ague, to change his retreat almost every night. He was even on one occasion discovered by Sylla's guards: but he extricated himself out of their hands by great gifts of money. He had powerful friends, that solicited for him. Sylla however long continued inflexible. At length as they pressed him, and asked what he could fear from a child: *(a) You will have it so, said Sylla. Well I grant it. But take notice I tell you that you save the future destroyer of our work, and of the whole party of the nobility. For in that boy I see many Marius's.* Never was prediction more exactly verified: and it proves that Sylla had great penetration, and knew mankind extremely well. Another saying is related of him to the same effect in respect to Cæsar, who in his youth affected great effeminacy, assumed the airs of a coxcomb, and always wore his girdle very loose. *(b) Sylla was not deceived by this soft outside, and used frequently to say, Have a care of that loose-girded boy; he is far from being what he would appear. Clemency to Cæsar was in a manner extorted out of Sylla.*

(a) Vincerent, ac sibi haberent: dummodo scirent eum quem incolumen tantopere cuperent, quandoque optimatum partibus, quas se eum simul defendissent, exitio futurum: nam Cæsari

multos Marios inesse. *Suet.*

(b) Unde emanasse Syllæ dictum (ferunt) optimates sæpius admonentis, ut malè præcinctum puerum caverent. *Suet. Cæs. 46.*

However

A. R. 670. However Cæsar was obliged to remove from
Ant. C. 82. Italy, and he went to Asia to make his first campaigns under Minucius Thirmus.

*End of the
siege of
Prænestē.
Death of
young Ma-
rius.* In the mean time the siege of Prænestē ended, and supplied new matter for Sylla's cruelty. He had sent thither to Lucretius Ofella his Lieutenant the head of Telestinus, killed at the battle of Porta Collina, and those of the two Roman Commanders, Carinas and Marcius, massacred by his orders after the battle: he also sent him the head of Gratidianus; insomuch that the besieged seeing, they had lost all their Leaders, and knowing the desertion of Norbanus and Carbo, having no resource, they chose to open their gates, to the Victor. The Consul Marius however would not surrender himself: but having endeavoured to make his escape through vaults, that led from the city into the country, and finding the outlets closed and guarded by soldiers, he fought with young Telestinus, the brother of him of whom we have been speaking. Their design was to deliver themselves both at once by an honourable death from the punishments Sylla prepared for them. But Marius after having killed his friend, finding himself only wounded, ordered one of his slaves to make an end of him. His head was carried to Sylla, who caused it to be set up upon the Tribunal of Harangues, and who on looking at it insulted the youth of that Consul, *who should have learnt, said he, to bandle the oar, before he undertook to manage the helm.*

*Plot. in
Marco.* Young Marius had scarce shewn himself an imitator of his father, except in respect to his cruelty. For the rest, after having at first shewn some signs of bravery, which had even caused

caused him to be called *the son of Mars*, he departed so much from his first essays, that he deserved rather to be called *the son of Venus*. A. R. 670.
Ant. C. 82.

It is however observed, as a proof of the *Sylla assumes the* high idea Sylla had of that young enemy, that he did not assume the surname of *Happy*, till he *surname of* had got rid of him. But I do not find this *Happy.* observation and precise date in any author, but *Vell. II.* one, whose credit is not entirely to be re- *27.* lied on. It is however true, that Sylla, who *Plut. in* during his whole life thought it for his honour, *Sulla.* as we have observed, to be favoured by for- *Appian.* tune, and to be what is called a *fortunate* man, solemnly assumed that surname about this time; insomuch that he caused himself to be called *L. Cornelius Sylla Fælix*; and in writing to the Greeks, or in the Edicts, which were to be translated into the Greek tongue, he rendered the word *Fælix* by that of *Ἐπαφροδίτος*, as much as to say *beloved by Venus*. And his wife Metella having lain in of twins, a son and a daughter, he caused the one to be called *Faustus*, and the other *Fausta*, that is *Happy* or *Fortunate* in the different genders. What good-fortune is this? Can that of a man covered with the blood of his country, and who had rendered himself the horror of human race, deserve that name?

As soon as the city of Præneste was taken, *Massacre* Sylla went thither. Lucretius had already *executed by* caused several Senators of Marius's party to be *Sylla in* killed, whom he had found in that city. Sylla *Præneste.* compleated the affair and condemned those to die whom his Lieutenant had imprisoned. He afterwards ordered all the persons in Præneste to be divided into three bands, Romans, Prænestini, and Samnites. He told the Romans they

A. R. 670.
Ant. C. 82.

they had deserved death; but that he would pardon them in consideration of their common country. As to the Prænestini, he began by examining the different cases in which they might be, in order to regulate his conduct accordingly. Then finding the discussion would take up too much of his time, he ordered, that they should be all massacred with the Samnites, none of whom he ever pardoned. He excepted only one of the Prænestini, which was the person, in whose house he lodged. But that generous man, saying that he would not be indebted for his life to the butcher of his fellow citizens, threw himself into the midst of them, and was put to the sword with the rest. The number of those who perished on this occasion amounted, according to Plutarch, to twelve thousand. Only the women and children were spared. The city was plundered by the troops, and the territory confiscated for the benefit of the Roman People.

*Cities proscribed,
sold and
demolished
by Sylla.*
Hor. III.
21.

Strab.
c. V.
p. 249.

It did not suffice Sylla to proscribe private persons; he proscribed whole cities. Not to mention those whose walls he demolished with their citadels, and loaded with taxes and fines, many were sold by auction with their territories; Præneste, of which we have just been speaking, Spoletum, Interamna, Florence. He caused the city of Sulmo in the country of the Volsci to be proceeded against juridically, and condemned to be demolished. He exercised the same rigour against the cities of the Samnites: and Strabo affirms, that in his time they were only either villages, or lay entirely in ruins; and amongst others, he mentions Bovianum, Eternia, and Telesia.

Italy was reduced, and no body in it made any farther resistance against Sylla. But there still remained great wrecks of the conquered party dispersed in the Provinces, Perperna in Sicily, Carbo and Domitius in Africa, and Sertorius in Spain. As to the latter, it cost many efforts and years to destroy him: we shall speak of him at large in the sequel. Pompey was sent by Sylla in pursuit of the rest.

As soon as he appeared in Sicily, Perperna retired, and Carbo came of himself to surrender. For having set out from Africa with several Senators and other persons of note, who had continued faithful to him, and having advanced to the island of * Cossura, to endeavour to get certain intelligence from Italy, he detached L. Brutus in a fishing-boat, with orders to go to Lilybæum and inform himself, whether Pompey was in Sicily. The boat was seized, and Brutus seeing that he could not escape, killed himself, by laying the handle of his sword against the bench of the rowers, and throwing himself upon the point with the whole weight of his body. Pompey being apprized, that Carbo was in the island of Cossura, sent to take him, with all that accompanied him: and caused them immediately to be put to death, except Carbo, in respect to whom he acted in the manner, that justly deserved the imputation of pride and inhumanity. Indeed, says Plutarch, he could scarce have dispensed with depriving him of life. But every body blamed a young man of twenty-four, and only a Roman Knight, for

A. R. 670.

Ant. C. 82.

Pompey is

sent into

Sicily to

pursue the

remains of

the con-

quered

party.

* Pantalarea.

having

Val. Max.

V. 3, 5.

& VI. 2.

P. Plut.

A. R. 670.
Ant. C. 82.

having caused a Consul to be dragged before him, then actually invested with that supreme dignity for the third time, and who had even formerly done him service in the cause he had to defend concerning the honour and fortunes of his father. Pompey inveighed from his tribunal against that unfortunate person prostrate at his feet; and afterwards ordered him to be led to execution. Carbo shewed as much cowardice in dying, as he had cruelty and insolence during his prosperity. To gain a few miserable moments of life, he pretended a cholic, that obliged him to go aside a little; but as he stayed there too long, a soldier went and cut off his head in that wretched asylum. That head was sent to Rome to be presented to Sylla.

*Death of
Soranus.*

The death of Q. Valerius Soranus drew also reproaches upon Pompey: and he would deserve them, if the facts were certain. Soranus was a person of condition, and had been Prætor; besides which, he was the most learned of the Romans, and perfectly versed as well in Philosophy, as in what related to the rights and ceremonies of the Religion of his country. Pompey, says an author, after having asked him abundance of questions in walking with him, and having got out of him what he wanted to know, ordered him to be executed. This manner of acting is undoubtedly vile and perfidious. But it is related by C. Oppius, Cæsar's friend, and therefore justly to be suspected in regard to Pompey. And indeed Plutarch affirms, that he lent himself with reluctance and through force to Sylla's revenge, and if he was obliged to put those to death, who were taken in the fight and with
the

*Pompey's
lenity.*

the knowledge of the publick, he shut his eyes to many, who lay hid in different retreats, and even aided some to make their escapes.

He did more, and ventured to act with generosity on a conspicuous occasion. He had resolved to chastise the city of Himera, which had followed Marius's party. The principal person of that city, whose name was Sthenius, came to him, and earnestly desired him not to inflict upon an innocent multitude the punishment due only to one criminal. *And who is that criminal?* said Pompey. *Why me,* replied Sthenius. *I am the only one, who engaged my fellow-citizens in the party opposite to yours. I brought my friends into it by persuasion; and compelled my enemies to enter into it by force. In consequence I alone am responsible for a fault, which I alone committed.* Pompey judged, that a man of such heroick courage, was more worthy of his friendship than punishment; and not only pardoned him, but the whole city on his account.

The rest of his conduct was of a piece with this, and Sicily had great reason to be satisfied with him in every respect. Justice had been suspended there a great while, no doubt because the civil wars prevented that island from enjoying the necessary tranquillity. Pompey judged both the differences between cities, and the causes of particulars, with perfect understanding and equity. He only spoke with haughtiness to the Mamertines, who were for declining his Tribunal, and alledged their privileges. *Laws are not to be pleaded,* said he to them, *to a man who has arms in his hands.* This discourse was lofty; but his actions were

A. R. 670.
Ant. C. 82.

Generosity
of Sthenius.

Pompey's
entirely
laudable
conduct in
Sicily.
Diod.
apud
Vales.

A. R. 6th.
Ant. C. 82.

guided by justice; besides which the great purity of his manners, and remoteness from the frantick pleasures to which youth is so violently prone, drew admiration upon him. He also took care, that oppressions, from which he abstained himself, should not be practised by those under his command. He carried that conduct into a singular precaution with respect to the soldiers. For having been informed, that they dispersed upon marches to plunder, he caused their swords to be sealed at the mouth of the scabbard, and he who broke the seal was punished.

S E C T. II.

Sylla causes himself to be nominated Dictator. Unlimited power given him. He appears in publick attended in the most terrible manner. He caused Lucretius Ofella to be massacred in the Forum, for standing for the Consulship contrary to his order. He triumphs over Mithridates. Sylla's Laws. He weakens and depresses the Tribuneship. He augments the inclosure of the city. He sells the estates of the proscribed in a tyrannical manner. Goodwill of a bad Poet rewarded by Sylla. Sylla a man of pleasure. Crassus enriches himself with the estates of the proscribed. Product arising from the sale of those estates to the publick Treasury. Affair of Sex. Roscius. Beginnings of Cicero. His birth. His first studies. He is admired from thenceforth. His application on quitting the Schools: Philosophy: Law: Exercises proper for Eloquence. He is charged with the cause of Sex. Roscius, and pleads it with abundance of

of courage and liberty. He makes a voyage into Asia. Grief of Apollonius Molo on his account. He practises Action with Roscius the Comedian. Death of Norbanus. Taking of Nola and Volaterra. Pompey is sent into Africa against Domitius. Ridiculous adventure, that retards him some days. Battle, in which Domitius is defeated and killed. Pompey carries the war into Numidia. Sylla recalls him. Emotion of Pompey's soldiers on that occasion. Surname of Great given him by Sylla, who however refuses him a Triumph. Bold saying of Pompey. His triumph. Sylla at the same time Consul and Dictator. Exceeding gratitude of Metellus to the author of his father's re-establishment. Murena's Triumph, and account of the war he had made with Mithridates. Mithridates puts an end to the revolt of the People of Colchis by giving them his son for King: and then kills him. Occasion of Murena's declaring war against Mithridates. Inconsiderable events of that war. End of the war. Verres, Dolabella's Lieutenant, Proconsul of Cilicia. He is for taking away the daughter of Philodamus: and afterwards causes Philodamus himself and his son to be condemned to die. Ten thousand slaves made free by Sylla. Lands distributed to the officers and soldiers of twenty-three legions. Sylla abdicates the Dictatorship. Reflexions upon that event. Ceremony of the abdication. Sylla is insulted by a young man. He reproaches Pompey with having made Lepidus Consul. He gives a feast of several days to the People. Death of Metella. Sylla marries again with Valeria. Sylla has the lowsy disease. He gives laws to the inhabitants

of Puzzuoli. He works upon the Memoirs of his life till two days before his death. His will. Last violence of Sylla. He dies. Reflexion upon the surname of Fortunate assumed by Sylla. His obsequies.

A. R. 670.
Anc. C. 82.
*Sylla con-
fess himself
to be no-
minated
Dictator.
Appian.*

SYLLA had reigned hitherto in fact, but without title. He was for colouring his way with some respected name, in order that it might not seem a meer tyranny. Besides which it was necessary to give the Commonwealth an head, which it had not had since the death of the Consuls Marius and Carbo. He therefore took advantage of that occasion; and having quitted the city, he wrote to the Senate, that he believed it proper to choose an *Interrex*. This office was not used amongst the Romans, but when there were no Curule Magistrates in the Commonwealth. Accordingly Sylla's proposal is a proof, that the year 670 being elapsed, had put an end to the Magistracy of the Prætors and Ædiles, and that we are now come to the year 671.

A. R. 671.
Anc. C. 81.

The election was made according to custom by the Patricians, and L. Valerius Flaccus, then Prince of the Senate, was chosen *Interrex*. Sylla then discovered himself. It was imagined, that the nomination of an *Interrex* was only previous to the election of Consuls. But Sylla made known his intentions by a letter, which he wrote to Flaccus, wherein he directed him to declare in his name to the People, that he thought it necessary to nominate a Dictator, and that, not for a limited time, but till the city, Italy, and the Commonwealth had recovered the violent shocks they had sustained during the civil war. It was manifest, that it was

was to himself he expected the Dictatorship should be given. But that there might be no ambiguity in this point, he added at the bottom of the letter, that if they thought fit to lay that burthen upon him, he should be content to add this to his services of the Commonwealth.

A. R. 67.
Ant. C. 84.

There was no liberty to be hoped. The People at least seized the shadow and image of it, in going through the ceremony of giving their suffrages, as for an election dependent on their will. In this manner was the Dictatorship revived in Rome, after an interval of an hundred and twenty years, and with two remarkable differences: the one, that it was the * People, who created Sylla Dictator, whereas the nomination to that office had always been made hitherto by the supreme magistrate of the Commonwealth, that is, by a Consul, or a military Tribune. The other, and much the more important, difference is, that other Dictators had never been created but for six months, and now the time was indefinite.

The power of the Dictator was no less so. *Unlimited power given to Sylla.* For though in the better ages of the Commonwealth the Dictatorship is called by Historians a monarchical, and even tyrannical, power, Sylla did not content himself with the privileges usually annexed to that formidable office. It was expressly specified in the law passed by Plut. in the *Interrex* for his election, not only that all he had done for the past, was approved and ratified; but that for the future he should

* *Fabius Maximus* had. People, but only with the title been invested with the power of Prodictator. Rom. Hist. of the Dictatorship by the Vol. V. at the beginning.

A. R. 671.
Ant. C. 81.

have full power to do whatever he thought fit to deprive the citizens of life without the form of trial; to confiscate their estates; to settle Colonies; to build or destroy cities; and to give or take away Kingdoms, at his discretion: (a) the most iniquitous law, in Cicero's judgment, and the least worthy of that name, that ever was. Sylla having taken possession of the Dictatorship, rewarded the abject baseness with which Flaccus had given in to all his views, by making him his master of the Horse.

He appears in publick attended in the most terrible manner.
Appian.

Accordingly he appeared in the Forum with an attendance most capable of inspiring terror. He was preceded by four and twenty Lictors, carrying the rods and axes: a sight entirely new to all then living, who had never seen a Dictator. The Consuls indeed had each twelve Lictors: but only one of those two Magistrates ever made his walk before him in the city: the other had only a serjeant: besides which the axes, that were symbols of life and death, never appeared in Rome with the Consular fasces. Sylla, besides the Lictors, had a numerous guard around him: and he used the power conferred upon him in all its extent. He gave a terrible example of this at the election of Consuls.

He causes Lucretius Ofella to be massacred in the Forum, for demanding the Consulship contrary to his order.
Plut.
Liv. Epit.
Appian.

For, to preserve the Commonwealth in its ancient form, he would have Consuls, Prætors, and the other Magistrates created as usual. Lucretius Ofella, who had lately taken Prænestes, having set up as a Candidate for the

(a) Omnium legum iniquissimam dissimulatamque legis esse arbitror eam quam L. Flaccus Interrex de Sulla

tulit, ut omnia quæcumque ille fecisse essent rata. Cic. in Rull. III. 5.

Consulship, the Dictator forbade him to stand for that office. He, who saw he had friends and interest, and had quite recently done so great a service to Sylla's party by the reduction of Præneste, believed he might neglect that prohibition with impunity. But whilst he persisted in canvassing with the citizens in the Forum, the Dictator, who from his tribunal saw what passed, sent a Centurion to him, who * killed him upon the spot. On this murder a tumult of the whole multitude ensued: the Centurion was seized, and brought to Sylla's feet. *Let him go*, said the Dictator, *he has only obeyed my orders*. He then told the assembled People a fable, that I shall relate after Appian, as highly proper to shew the inconceivable haughtiness and tyrannical spirit of Sylla, though little suitable to the dignity of History. He said, that a countryman, being bitten by lice, cleared his shirt of them once or twice, but the third time he threw it into the fire. *Apply this example to yourselves*, added he: *and don't let the conquered, after having been twice chastized, force me for a third time to have recourse to the fire, that they may spare themselves that effect*. It is easy to judge, that no body presented themselves to stand for the Consulship, but with the permission of this terrible Dictator. He caused M. Tullius Decula and Cn. Cornelius Dolabella to be elected, who had only the title without the power of Consuls.

* I follow Plutarch. However Asconius Pedianus says, that Lucretius Ofella was killed by Bellienus, Catilina's uncle.

A. R. 671.
Ant. C. 81.

M. TULLIUS DECULA.
CN. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

*He tri-
umphs
over Mi-
thridates.*
Val. Max.
II. 8. Plat.

Sylla, towards the latter end of the month of January, entered Rome in triumph. He triumphed over Mithridates only, and was praised with reason for not suffering to appear in that pomp, either the name of any citizen conquered by him, or the representation of any city belonging to the Romans, though he had taken some and reduced others. His triumph was magnificent, and adorned with the richest spoils of Asia. But what constituted its principal ornament, was a long file of the most illustrious and principal persons of the Senate and city, who having been protected by him from the fury of Marius and Cinna, followed his chariot, calling him their Father and Preserver, and protesting, that they were indebted to him for their return to their country, and for the happiness they enjoyed in seeing their wives and children again; and lastly for life itself. The ceremony of the triumph continued two days. On the first, fifteen thousand pounds in weight of gold, and an hundred and fifteen of silver, were borne in it, which were the fruits of the war with Mithridates; on the second, thirteen thousand pounds of gold, and six thousand of silver, which had been saved either at the burning of the Capitol, or taken out of different temples, and afterwards carried to Præneste by young Marius; and this money was expressed in a painting, carried in pomp according to custom and so exhibited to the People.

The Dictator afterwards applied himself to reforming the State, by the establishment of
new

new laws: and he did it with a wisdom by which it might well have been desired that he had regulated his whole conduct. A. R. 67th
Ant. C. 8th

Some of these laws regarded the crimes contrary to the intent of civil Society, cheating and false-witness, coining, violence to the citizens, poisoning and assassination. In respect to all these crimes, which could not but have multiplied exceedingly, during the troubles and horrors of the civil wars, he either renewed or increased the punishments inflicted by the ancient laws. He only added to the laws against assassinations an exception in favour of those, who had killed the proscribed.

His other laws had the publick offices, dignities, and Priesthoods as their object. He prohibited any person to stand for the Prætorship before having been Quæstor, or for the Consulship before having been Prætor. He renewed the ancient prohibition to confer the Consulship a second time upon the same citizen, except after an interval of ten years. This law had frequently been violated in the preceding years; and if it was passed this year by Sylla, he himself violated his own law the year following in causing himself to be chosen Consul for the second time, and tho' only seven years had elapsed from the expiration of his first Consulship. Perhaps he did not pass this law, till he was out of the case of having occasion to break it himself.

He also augmented the number of Pontiffs, Augurs, and * Priests, that had the care of the Sibyl's books, and made all those Colleges

* Some doubt, whether *be to be ascribed to Sylla. I follow the most common and most probable opinion.*

A. R. 671.
Ant. C. 81.

Appian.

amount to the number of fifteen. He decreed, that instead of six Prætors eight should be created every year; and that twenty Quæstors should be annually chosen; in order to have a sufficient number of Senators always in readiness to supply the places of such as should drop off through different accidents. As seditions and wars had extremely diminished the Senate, he filled it up with the most illustrious of the Roman Knights to the number of three hundred, and that by the consent, and with the suffrages, of the Tribes assembled. All these regulations were laudable, or at least necessary: and every body, friend and enemy, had reason to be satisfied with them.

It is not to be wondered, that he raised the credit and splendor of the nobility, of whom he had been the defender and avenger. Accordingly he restored the judicature to the Senate; and ordained that for the future, the Judges should be chosen solely out of the Senators.

He weakens and depresses the Tribuneship.

Vell. II.
30. Liv.
Epit.
Appian.

This was reinstating things upon the ancient foot. He made it his peculiar care to depress the Tribuneship, which had been the source of so many fatal divisions: and not daring entirely to abolish it, he reduced it at least to almost a meer shadow. He in consequence deprived the Tribunes of the power to pass laws. He decreed, that every Tribune should be elected out of the body of the Senate, that the interest of that order might balance the inclination of those Magistrates to favour the People in every thing. And lastly, to exclude from the Tribuneship all those, whom their birth or talents might render formidable in that office, he decreed, that whoever should have been Tribune,

Tribune, should not be capable of ever pretending to any superior dignity. The People were extremely dissatisfied with this reduction of the Tribuneship. But after all the evils, which we have seen arise from this source, can Sylla be blamed for having confined the Tribunes to the only function, for which they had been instituted, which was to aid the oppressed citizens?

I ought not to omit, in speaking of the Acts of Sylla's Dictatorship, that he removed the bounds of the city, and enlarged its circumference. This was an honour and privilege, which all were not permitted to assume, and was only due to those, who had extended the Empire itself. Sylla well deserved that honour, by his victories: and he was the last of the Generals of the Commonwealth, who desired to have it.

The various cares, so worthy of a supreme Magistrate, and a Reformer of the Commonwealth, were intermingled with others of a quite different kind, and which suited only a tyrant. He sold the estates of the proscribed as spoils; and was not afraid to call them by that odious name. He sold and gave them away from his Tribunal, in so despotic and haughty a manner; that the bestowing of them gave more offence, than the violence by which he had seized them. He made presents of whole provinces, or the revenues of an whole city, to women, who had more beauty than virtue; to Musicians, Comedians, and wretched freedmen.

One of the gifts of this kind, and perhaps the best placed, is that mentioned by Cicero in his

A. R. 671.
Ant. C. 81.

He enlarges the enclosure of the city.

Tac. XII.

Ann 23.

Sen. de

Benef.

V. 16.

He sells the estates of the proscribed in a tyrannical manner.

Cic. de Off. II. 8.
Plut.

A. R. 671. his Oration for Archias the Poet. Whilst (a)
 Ant. C. 81. Sylla presided at the sales, of which we are speaking, a bad Poet presented him with a copy of pretended Hexameter and Pentameter verses, but which, according to Cicero, were only measured prose, of which the second was longer than the first. Sylla however did not believe he ought to leave the man's good-will unrewarded, and gave him one of the things he was then selling, but with express condition, that he should make no more verses. A stroke of pleasantry in which we perceive the man of wit.

*Sylla a
 man of
 pleasure.*

But his taste for the company of buffoons cannot be excused. This was in him a taste of his youth, which had been interrupted by the wars, and revived, when he saw himself at peace, and capable of living as he pleased, after so many agitations and conflicts. He in consequence drew together a body of theatrical people, the most impudent of whom were most agreeable to him. These were his companions at table: he drank with them all day; and shared with them in buffoon pleasantries and railery, in a manner ill-suited both his age and dignity. For at table nothing serious was to be expected from Sylla. Active, vigilant, and rigid to excess of cruelty at all other times, he was not the same man the moment he sat down with his guests. Then players and dancers found him all kindness and complacency, to the point of coming in to every thing.

(a) (Sallam) in concione vidimus, quum ei libellum malus Poeta de populo subjecisset, quod epigramma in eum fecisset tantummodo alternis versibus longiuscans,

statim ex iis rebus quas tunc vendebar jubere ei præmium tribui sub ea conditione, ne quid postea scriberet. *Cic. pro Arch. n. 25.*

Sylla

Sylla did not bestow his presents solely upon this kind of men. He was well pleased, that the principal and most illustrious of the citizens should share in the odium of these tyrannical sales with him. None entered more into his views than Crassus, who, engrossed by the avidity of riches, knew no scruples in respect to the manner of enriching himself. He glutted himself with joy with the blood of the miserable, buying at a very low rate, or even accepting as gifts, the confiscations of the proscribed: and it was principally from this hateful source, that he derived those immense possessions, which made him the richest citizen of Rome. He had even carried things so far, that he lost Sylla's friendship by it: and having proscribed a very rich man by his own private authority and without order, for the sake of possessing his fortune, he incurred the Dictator's displeasure for it, who never gave him any employment afterwards.

Though many private persons made great gains by these sales, and tho' great parts of the estates were given away for nothing, a very considerable sum came into the public treasury from them. The epitome of Livy makes it amount to three hundred and fifty millions of sesterces, which makes near two millions two hundred thousand pounds sterling. What would it have been, had the estates been all sold for their value?

Their real value and the price they were sold for were often enormously different, as we may be convinced from a fact, of which Cicero gives us every circumstance, and which, besides, contains a complication of injustices, and

A. R. 671.
Ant. C. 81.

Crassus in-
riches him-
self with
the estates
of the pro-
scribed.

Plut. in
Crasso.

Product
arising
from the
sale of those
estates to
the public
Treasury.

Affairs of
Sex. Ros-
cius.

A. R. 671.
Ant. C. 81.

and crimes, that makes us perfectly acquainted with the hardship of those calamitous times.

* *Amelia*
in the
Duchy of
Spoleto.

The cessation of proscriptions and sales was fixed by the law for the first of June. Several months after, Sex. Roscius, one of the principal citizens of * Almeria, was assassinated in Rome by enemies, whose design was more against his estate than his life. At that time the proscription was out of the question. However the assassins of Roscius caused his name to be inserted upon the list of the proscribed by the means of Chrysogonus, Sylla's freedman, and who had an entire ascendant over his patron. The estate of Roscius was then confiscated. Chrysogonus made himself the seller, and bought for two thousand sesterces, that is, about twelve pounds sterling, estates that were worth six millions of sesterces, or about thirty-five thousand pounds of our money. Nor is this all: Roscius left a son, who might one day bring so enormous and manifest an injustice to a trial, and perhaps regain his paternal estate. The assassins to deliver themselves from apprehension in concert with Chrysogonus, accused the son of having been the murderer of his father. Chrysogonus reckoned, all powerful as he was, to carry the affair with ease, and to obtain the condemnation of a person, whom no body would venture to defend. Accordingly the principal Orators of Rome refused to charge themselves with his cause. Only Cicero, then between twenty-six and twenty-seven years old had the courage to defend that oppressed innocent: he even succeeded in having him acquitted; and that cause pleaded by him in a very shining manner laid the foundation of his reputation at the bar.

As

As I have had occasion to speak of * Cicero, who begins now to enter upon the stage of the world, let me be suffered, to change the scene from so many horrors as have employed the imagination so long, to insert some circumstances relating to the first years of so great a man, the important figure he will make in the sequel, and more than that, the affecting interest all who have any taste for literature cannot but feel for that amiable writer, with whom we are made familiar from our infancy, and who is so capable both of amusing agreeably, and of employing usefully the ripest years; these are undoubtedly titles more than sufficient for giving place in a Roman History to every thing that relates to him.

A. R. 671.
Ant. C. 81.
*Begin-
nings of
Cicero.
His birth.*

Cicero was born the third of January in the 646th year of Rome at Arpinum, a municipal city in the country of the Volsci. He was of an honourable family, whose ancestors had long been Roman Knights from father to son; but none of them had held a Curule office in Rome. The Surname of Cicero descended to him from his forefathers. It had been given to one of the family, who transmitted it to his posterity; from a mark at the end of his nose resembling a pea. For *cicer* in latin signifies a *pea*. According to Pliny, that surname had another origin. He says, that as agriculture was anciently much in honour at Rome, and throughout Latium, and that most persons cultivated lands with

Plut. in
Cic.

Plin. xviii. 3.

* Part of what Mr. Rollin has said of Cicero in his *Belles Lettres* Vol. II. will be repeated here. The point of view is however different.

Cicero has been considered by Mr. Rollin solely as an O-
rator: but here the reader has an abridgment of the first years of his life.

A. R. 661. their own labour, the name of *Cicero*, as well
 Ant. C. 81. as those of *Fabius* and *Lentulus*, were taken
 from plants, that some person of those families
 either delighted, or excelled, in cultivating;
 Plut. *peas, beans, lentils*. However that be, when
Cicero first entered upon the pursuit of hon-
 ours, his friends advised him to quit that sur-
 name, which seemed to have something igno-
 ble in it. But he answered them with that
 confidence, which merit and youth inspire, that
 he intended to make the surname of *Cicero* more
 illustrious than those of *Catullus* and *Scaurus*.
 The comparison was just as to the surnames con-
 sidered in themselves. For *Catullus* signifies
puppy, and *Scaurus*, *stumpfoot*.

It is said that his mother, who was called
Helvetia, and was a woman of condition and
 merit, was delivered of him without pain; and
 that his nurse saw a phantom, who foretold to
 her, that the infant she suckled, should do great
 honour, and become extremely useful, to the
 Roman People. But Plutarch himself treats
 these pretended omens as fables and trifles. As-
 soon as young *Cicero* was capable of distinguish-
 ing his genius, he gave far more solid omens
 of what he should be one day.

His first studies. He is admired from thence-
 forth. For when he appeared in the public schools,
 he distinguished himself in such a manner by
 the finest genius that ever was, that the fathers
 of his schoolfellows frequently went thither to
 see this rising prodigy, of whom they had
 heard such surprizing praises. And those, who
 had a gross and absurd vanity were disgust-
 ed, that their children should pay such singu-
 lar honours to their young comrade, place him
 in the midst of them, and every where give
 him

him the upper hand. For at that age youth do one another justice with much more frankness and candour, than is practised amongst persons of riper years. In his first studies he applied himself much to poetry, and was even thought to succeed in it. But every body knows that was not his talent. For the rest, as his genius was capable of all things, he embraced Philosophy, Law, and Eloquence, which was the end to which he referred all his other studies. He also made a trial of the profession of arms, and served in the war of the Allies under Pompeius Strabo. But he was still less formed for arms than for poetry, and he soon devoted himself to the arts of peace.

A. R. 671,
Ant. C. 816

*His exercises on
quitting
the schools.*

His taste (*a*) for philosophy rose to passion; and he applied himself entirely, as he tells us himself, to the lectures of Philo the Academic, whom the troubles of Greece, on the approach of the armies of Mithridates, had forced to quit Athens, and retire to Rome. Cicero followed his inclination for the study of philosophy the more willingly, as the deplorable state of the city, torn in pieces by the factions of Marius and Sylla, and afterwards harrassed by the tyranny of Cinna and Carbo, seemed to have abolished both the laws and the practice of the bar.

However not entirely losing sight of his purpose, he applied himself in a very particular manner to logick, which is a kind of more confined eloquence, as eloquence is a more dif-

(*a*) Totum ei (Philoni) me tradidi admirabili quodam ad Philosophiam studio

concitatus. *Cicer. in Bruto* n. 306.

A. R. 6-1. fufive and extended logick. And as the Sto-
 Ant. C. 81. ics diligently cultivated that part of philosophy,
 he had taken for his guide in the ftudy of it,
 a philosopher of that feét, called Diodotus,
 who paffed his life with him, and died in his
 houfe during the rule of Cæfar.

Law. As to Law, his mafters and models were
 Cic. de the two Scævola's, the Augur and Pontiff, the
 Amic. 1. greateft lawyers and the moft worthy perfons
 of the commonwealth. His father according
 to the cuftom very wifely eftablifhed amongft
 the Romans, had prefented him, afoon as he
 put on the robe of manhood, to Scævola the
 Augur, to accompany that venerable old man
 every where, and collect all his fayings: fo
 that the young Cicero went every morning to
 his houfe, waited upon him to the Forum or
 Senate, and afterwards attended him home.
 After the death of the Augur, he adhered
 through his own choice to the Pontiff. How
 much might a young man improve, and form
 himfelf for every good purpofe in fuch com-
 pany.

Exercises Whileft (a) Cicero laboured in this manner
 neceffary to night and day, we ufe his own words, to in-
 eloquence. rich and adorn his mind with all kinds of
 knowledge, he did not forget the exercifes ne-
 ceffary to eloquence: and no day paffed with-
 out his compofing both in latin and more fre-
 quently in greek, “ whether fays he, becaufe
 “ the greek tongue being richer and more
 “ abundant with ornaments than ours, enabled
 “ me to acquire the facility of fpeaking in
 “ the like manner in latin; or becaufe the

(a) Ego hoc tempore omni noctes & dies in omnium
 doctrinarum meditatione verfabar.

“ greateft

“ greatest masters of the art being Greeks, A. R. 671.
Ant. C. 81.
 “ and not understanding our language, I was
 “ obliged to speak to them in theirs.” He
 also took care assiduously to follow all the Ora-
 tors of any reputation, either when they
 pleaded before the Judges, or spoke upon the
 public affairs in the assemblies of the People.
 It was by all these pains he formed himself
 for pleading: (a) so that when he came to the
 bar, it was not to learn his business there, as
 most others did, but he brought a rich fund of
 learning thither acquired by previous study
 and application.

After having pleaded some causes of less im- Heischar-
 portance, the misfortunes of the times obliged re- ged with
 course to be had to him on that of Roscius; be- the cause
 cause those, who had more eyes upon them, and of Sex. Ro-
 whose discourses might have been considered as scius.
 dangerous attacks, were afraid, as I have said
 above, to offend Chrysogonus, who was all-
 powerful with the Dictator, and who not ap-
 pearing in the affair as a party, was however
 the soul and principal in it. Cicero, who was
 young, and hitherto not very capable of at-
 tracting attention, believed that what he should
 be obliged to say for the defence of the accused,
 would be deemed of little consequence, and
 he was desirous of improving the occasion for
 making himself known.

He pleaded this cause in the second Consul- And pleads
 ship of Sylla, being then twenty seven years it with
 of age, with great spirit and liberty. We great spi-
 rit of freedom.

(a) Non ut in foro disce- efficere potuissimus, docti in
 remus, quod plerique fece- forum veniremus.
 runt, sed ut quantum nos

A. R. 671.
Ant. C. 81.

have the Oration which he made upon this occasion. He spares the Dictator in it, and takes care to put him out of the question. But he lashes Chrysogonus with no mercy; not only unravelling the whole mystery of iniquity, which I have related in few words, but with invectives against his person, and exposing his insolence to the contempt and hatred of the Public. He described his city and country-houses, his magnificent furniture, his plate, his costly vases of Corinthian or Delian Brass, the multitude of his slaves, and his luxurious debauches. He afterwards paints his insolence in these terms: “ (a) Do you see in what
“ manner he stalks up and down the Fo-
“ rum, with his fine hair well curled and per-
“ fumed, attended every where by a nume-
“ rous train: how he despises every body, and
“ thinks no one worthy of being compared
“ with him: how he thinks himself all power-
“ ful and happy, and the sole arbiter of all
“ mens fortunes.

Cicero explains himself even upon the public affairs with abundance of freedom. He undoubtedly does not blame the cause of the Nobility at bottom, to which he declares on the contrary he had always been attached through principle and inclination: but he complains highly of the oppressions practised under the colour and protection of that cause. (b) “ If
“ arms

(a) Ipse verò quemadmo-
dum composito & delibuto
capillo passim per forum vo-
litet cum magna caterva to-
gatorum, videtis iudices: ut
omnes despiciat, ut homi-

nem præ se neminem putet,
ut se solum beatum, solum
potentem putet. *Cic. pro*
Sex. Ros. n. 135.

(b) Si id actum est, & id-
circo arma sumpta sunt, ut
homines

“ arms have been taken, says he, only that
 “ the last and lowest of men might enrich
 “ themselves with the estates of others, and
 “ usurp the possessions of every citizen, and we
 “ not only cannot oppose these violences, so
 “ much as to condemn them in our discourses;
 “ in this case, the Commonwealth is neither re-
 “ stored nor re-established, but subjected and
 “ oppressed.”

We see that Cicero was not in the wrong in taking honour to himself for having raised his voice against Sylla's power, for the protection of oppressed innocence. Accordingly Plutarch says, that this liberty, with which Cicero spoke, and the fear of Sylla's vengeance, were the motives, that determined him to quit Rome, and make a voyage to Asia. But this is hard to reconcile with Cicero's own account, who places between his pleading for Roscius and his voyage to Asia many other causes, in which he laboured with as much ardour and care as the first. It was therefore from the motive of health, he made that voyage, of which we are going to say a few words.

He was extremely thin and weakly: he had a very long and slender neck; so that it was much feared, that assiduity would entirely ruin so delicate a complexion; and the more, because when he pleaded his fire was so great, that he strained his voice in a violent manner without any check, speaking always at

homines postremi pecuniis
 alienis locupletarentur, & in
 fortunas uniusque cujusque
 impetum facerent & id non
 modo reprohibere, non li-
 cet, sed ne verbis quidem

vituperare; tum verò in isto
 bello non recreatus, neque
 restitutus, sed subactus op-
 pressusque populus Romanus
 est. n. 137.

A. R. 671
Ant. C. 81.

the utmost extent of it from the beginning to the end. (a) His friends and physicians therefore exhorted him to renounce a profession that would destroy him: but as for himself he chose rather to hazard every thing that might happen, than to renounce the glory of eloquence, which was the object of his hopes and wishes. He however conceived that if he could moderate himself, he should speak the better in effect, and should not risk the same dangers in respect to his health. Accordingly he went to Asia, to exercise himself in a gentler and more tranquil manner, and to endeavour to retrench the too great impetuosity of his genius.

Grief of Apollonius Molo on his account.

He made himself acquainted with all the greatest Philosophers and most famous Orators, both at Athens and in Asia. But the person to whom he principally attached himself, was Apollonius Molo, the Rhodian, from whom he had taken lessons at Rome, and who was, at the same time, both a great advocate, and a great rhetorician. A very remarkable adventure happened to him with this Apollonius. He composed in Greek, that his master might understand him. One day whilst he was declaiming to him in the presence of a great audience, he made a fine discourse, which when finished, every body highly applauded. Apollonius was the only one that appeared thoughtful during this speech, and kept silence, when it was ended. Cicero, who set a greater value on his approbation, than on that of all

(a) Itaque quum me & amici & medici honarentur, ut causas agere desisterem, quodvis potius periculum mihi adeundum, quàm à separata dicendi gloria recedendum putavi. *Cic. in Brut.* n. 324.

the

the rest together, was dashed by his silence, and asked him the cause of it. *Ab! Cicero, replied Apollonius, I undoubtedly praise and admire you. But I lament the fate of Greece which had no glory left but that of Eloquence; and I see you are upon the point of depriving her of that last advantage, and of transferring it to the Romans.*

This (a) great master did so excellent a pupil important services. Cicero abandoned himself willingly to the vastness of his genius, and sometimes shewed more abundance than justness, as he says himself; like a river, that overflows its banks. Apollonius taught him to check his sallies, how happy soever they might be, and to confine himself within the bounds of the occasion of his cause. Thus after two years the young Orator returned to Rome, not only better versed in the art of speaking, but almost entirely changed. His tone of voice was softened, his style was more correct, and his action less violent.

To compleat himself in the attainment of this latter point, I mean action, on which we know what stress Demosthenes placed, Cicero contracted an intimacy with the famous Comedian Roscius, who in a profession of no great credit had retained a probity worthy of the friendship and esteem of the most worthy persons, and was besides master of his art in a supreme degree of perfection. Macrobius relates a singular circumstance on this head. He says that Cicero and Roscius contended which should express the same thought and sentiment,

(a) Is dedit operam, si modò id consequi potuit, ut nimis redundantes nos & superfluentes juvenili qua-

dam impunitate & licentiâ dicendi reprimeret, & quasi extra ripas diffuentes coereret. n. 316.

A. R. 67 r.
Ant. C. 81,

He practises action with Roscius the Comedian.

Macrobius
Sat. 1. II.
C. 10.

A. R. 671. the one in the most various turns of phrase, and
Ant. C. 81. at the same time the most happily, and the other
 by the greatest diversity of motions and action.

So admirable a genius, cultivated with so much pains, acquired Cicero an height of reputation, that eclipsed all the other Orators, except Hortensius, who long disputed the first rank with him; and he found no difficulty to set himself above the discourse of those, who still retaining some traces of the * ancient rusticity of the Romans, ridiculed the arts of Greece, and treated himself as a Greek, and a man formed in the schools. His successes abundantly revenged this unjust contempt.

Death of Norbanus. I return to the sequel of our history: and
Taking of Nola and Volaterra. first to make an end of all that relates to pro-
 scriptions; Norbanus, who had been Consul with Scipio, having retired to Rhodes, seeing himself demanded by Sylla, he killed himself in the public Forum of that city. In Italy the cities of Nola and Volaterra defended themselves obstinately during a considerable length of time against the victorious party. They were at last reduced by force of arms and obliged to submit. I run slightly over these less important facts, in order to proceed to Pompey's exploits.

Pompey is sent into Africa against Domitius. When that young Conqueror had re-established the peace of Sicily, he received orders to go to Africa, where Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, Cinna's son-in-law, was assembling forces; and supported by Hiertas or Hiarbas,

* *Horace complains in his time of remains of this rusticity:*

—— Sed in longum tamen ævum
 Manserunt hodieque manent vestigia ruris.

Hor. Ep. II. 1. 139.
 king

king of part of Numidia, seemed in a condition to make himself formidable. The example of Marius, who when reduced to a much more deplorable situation, had quitted the same Africa with an handful of fugitives, and had repossessed himself of Rome and Italy, was a lesson, that taught Sylla not to suffer any of the conquered party to subsist. Pompey in consequence set out from Sicily with six legions, an hundred and twenty ships of war, and eight hundred transports, laden with all kind of munitions. Part of the fleet anchored at Utica, and the other at Carthage.

Pompey on his arrival was retarded some days by a ridiculous adventure. Some soldiers having found a treasure in the field, where they incamped, the whole army were assured, that it was all full of gold and silver, hid under ground by the Carthaginians at the time of their disaster. Immediately every man was seen with pick-ax in hand, digging in emulation of each other, without Pompey's being able to prevent them: so that he chose to laugh at the sight of so many thousand men employed in turning up the earth, and finding nothing. They were at length tired of a fruitless labour, and declared to Pompey, that they were ready to march immediately on his orders, well punished, as they confessed themselves, for their foolish credulity. Pompey accordingly led them against the enemy.

The armies were soon in sight, separated only by an hollow way of a difficult and slippery descent. A storm of rain and wind happened at that time, which began in the morning, and continued all day; so that Domitius despairing of being able to fight, made the signal for retreating.

A. R. 671.
Ant. C. 81.

*Ridiculous
adventure,
that re-
tards him
some days.*

*Battle in
which Do-
mitius is
defeated
and killed.*

A. R. 671.
AET. C. 81.

treating. Pompey conceived that moment favourable to him. He immediately advanced, passed the hollow, and attacked the enemy, who having then no thoughts but of retiring, were easily put into confusion; and the rather because the storm and rain were in their faces. They were in consequence driven to their camp, and Pompey's soldiers proclaimed him *Imperator*. But he declared to them, that he would not receive that honour, whilst the enemy's camp subsisted; and that he did not believe, he deserved so glorious a title, till they had first forced the enemy's intrenchments. It was already late, besides which the day was so darkened with clouds, that they could scarce see one another: and Pompey himself had been very near being killed in the battle by one of his own soldiers, who had asked the word of him without receiving an answer soon enough. However those troops, animated both by victory and the valour of their General, marched to the enemy's camp. Pompey fought at their head without an helmet, to avoid a second accident of the like nature with the former. The camp was taken, and Domitius killed upon the spot. The slaughter was great: and of twenty thousand scarce three thousand escaped. So compleat a victory reduced the whole country, the cities of which either received the victor, or were soon taken by force.

*Pompey
carries the
war into
Numidia.*

Pompey even entered Numidia. Hiertas was killed; his kingdom was given to Hiempfal, and the terror of the Roman name revived in those countries, where the remembrance of it began to expire. This whole successful expedition was terminated in forty days, after which Pompey returned to Utica.

On

On arriving there, he received dispatches from Sylla, by which he was ordered to send back his whole army, and to keep only a single legion, with which he remained in the Province, till a successor was sent him. Pompey was much disgusted with these orders, which seemed to argue, that Sylla began to take some umbrage at him. He however concealed his sentiments, and resolved to obey. But it was not the same with the troops, who mutinied openly, and declared to him, that they would not suffer him to put himself alone and without defence into the hands of the Dictator, whom they publicly denominated as a Tyrant. Pompey used all possible methods to appease them; but to no effect: and notwithstanding his prayers and even tears, they replaced him several times upon his Tribunal. At last he protested, that if they did not cease their violence to him, he would kill himself directly. That threat compelled them to be quiet.

The news of this commotion came to Rome with some alteration, and Pompey was made the chief and author of it. Sylla believed it, and said, *that it was his destiny to be obliged in his old age to make war with children*, referring to young Marius, who had given him great disquiet, and associating Pompey with him. But when the truth came to be cleared up, the Dictator seeing the public declared in the favour of that young warrior, resolved to do him all kinds of honours. Accordingly when Pompey arrived at Rome, Sylla went out to meet him; and having given him all possible proofs of amity, he saluted him by the name of *The Great*. According to Plutarch, this was the origin of that surname ascribed to Pompey.

A. R. 671.
Ant. C. 81.
Sylla recalls him.

Surname of The Great given to Pompey by Sylla.
Liv. XXX.

Livy, 45.

A. R. 671.
Ant. C. 81.

Plut.

Livy, who is at least as much to be relied on in this fact, says, that the flattery of his friends introduced the use of it. This disquisition is of little importance: but it is not amiss to observe, that Pompey apprehended the loftiness of such a surname, and that he did not assume it himself, till after some years were elapsed. It was not till he made war against Sertorius in Spain, that the use of this surname being universal, and having nothing odious in it, he began to add it to his own name.

*Who how-
ever re-
fuses him
a triumph.*

Whatever reception Sylla had given Pompey, he did not think proper to comply with his demand of a triumph, at which he aspired. He represented to him, “ that the laws granted that honour only to those, who have been
“ Prætors or Consuls. That for that reason,
“ the first Scipio Africanus, who had done
“ very great things in Spain, but without cha-
“ racter as a Magistrate, had not triumphed.
“ And that if Pompey, who was very young,
“ and not even of age to enter the Senate,
“ should be allowed to triumph, That would
“ suffice at the same time to render odious
“ not only him, who should obtain it contrary
“ to the express regulation of the laws, but
“ the supreme Magistrate, who should have
“ violated them to grant it him.” Sylla concluded these representations, with declaring to him in express terms, that he should stop him short, and prevent the effect of a too ambitious desire. Pompey did not give way to the Dic-

*Bold saying
of Pompey.*

tator's authority, and desired him to consider, *that the rising sun had more adorers than the setting.* Sylla did not hear him: and that bold expression, which insinuated, that he was upon the decline of his power, and Pompey upon

the increase of his, did not reach his ears. But observing an air of astonishment upon every face, he desired to be informed concerning it; and some body having repeated Pompey's words, he was so struck with the boldness of the young man, that he cried out twice, *Let him triumph, let him triumph.* A. R. 671.
Ant. C. 81.

This unheard of honour drew much envy upon Pompey: and to mortify that spirit still more, he intended to have his triumphal chariot drawn by four elephants. For he had brought several of those animals from Numidia. But the gate of the city being too narrow, he renounced that design, and used horses according to custom. His tri-
umph.

His soldiers occasioned him another difficulty. As he did not give them so much as their avidity had made them hope, they mutinied, and threatened to interrupt the ceremony of his triumph. But Pompey continued firm, and declared, that he would rather renounce his triumph, than flatter his soldiers. This generous conduct conciliated even those, who had been most averse to him: and Servilius, one of the principal Senators, said, that he now acknowledged Pompey truly *Great*, and worthy of triumphing.

Accordingly he triumphed over Hiertas and the Numidians, being yet only a Roman Knight. Plutarch observes, that it would undoubtedly have been very easy for him to have been made a Senator. But it had been no extraordinary distinction to have been made a Senator before the age, whereas it was an unexampl'd singularity, to triumph before his admission into the Senate: This circumstance was beside of use to him in conciliating the favour of the People, who were charmed to see him

continue

A. R. 671. continue in the rank of only a Roman Knight
 Ant. C. 81. after having triumphed.

A. R. 672.
 Ant. C. 80.

L. CORNELIUS SULLA, FÆLIX II.
 Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS PIUS.

*Sylla at
 the same
 time both
 Consul and
 Dictator.
 Appian.*

Sylla still retaining the Dictatorship, would however be Consul this year, undoubtedly to shew Republican sentiments, and prove, that the Dictatorship did not induce him either to disdain, or to incline to abolish the Consulship. His example was followed by Cæsar and the Emperors, who believed they made themselves more popular by frequently associating the Consulship in their own persons with their Imperial power.

*Gratitude
 of Metel-
 lus to the
 Person
 who had
 occasioned
 the re-
 establish-
 ment of his
 father.*

Metellus whom he had taken for his Colleague, and whose probity and goodness of heart have always received the greatest praises, made a proof of them on a remarkable occasion during his Consulship. He was the son, as we have said more than once, of Metellus Numidicus, who having been banished by Saturnius, had been reinstated by Calidius Tribune of the People. This (a) Calidius standing for the Prætorship, Metellus Pius not only canvassed warmly for him, and made the most pressing supplications to the People in his favour; but though actually Consul, and of the highest class of the Nobility, he descended to call Calidius his patron and the protector of his family, thereby

(a) De Calidio tibi respondeo, quod ipse vidi: Q Metellum Pium, Consulem Prætoris comitiis, petente Q. Calidio, populo Romano supplicasse,

quum quidem non dubitaret & Consul, & homo nobilissimus, patronum illum esse suum, & familiæ suæ nobilissimæ, dicere. Cic. *pro Plancio*, n. 69.

declaring himself out of gratitude the client of
a man extremely below him.

A. R. 672.
Ant. C. 80.

The triumph of Muræna over Mithridates may be dated with probability enough in this year; and this obliged me to relate here the war he had made with that prince. This account will be very short, and little circumstantial. We have almost only a fragment of Appian upon this war, and some detached sayings of Cicero's in different parts of his orations.

Muræna's triumph, and the relation of his war with Mithridates. Appian. Mithrid.

Appian's account gives a very slight idea of Muræna's exploits, and it would be difficult to find any thing in them, that deserved a triumph. Cicero speaks of it as an Orator, and perhaps bestows too great praises upon it. As his expressions are general, and specify nothing in particular, there is a necessity for us to take Appian for our guide.

Mithridates immediately after the peace concluded with Sylla, made war with the inhabitants of Colchis, who had revolted. They demanded his son Mithridates for King; and as soon as he had complied they laid down their arms, and returned to their duty. The King of Pontus, who was distrustful and suspicious, imagined, that the revolt of Colchis might be the effect of his son's intrigues, in order to obtain himself a Kingdom. It was dangerous to become unbragious to Mithridates. His cruel policy pardoned no body. He sent for his son: and that too credulous young Prince having put himself into his hands, he caused him to be laden with chains of gold, and soon after put him to death.

Mithridates suppresses the revolt of the People of Colchis, by giving them his son for King; and then kills him.

He afterwards undertook to reduce the inhabitants of Bosphorus, who had revolted at the same time with those of Colchis: and on

Occasion of the war, declared by Muræna, against Mithridates.

A. R. 672.
Ant. C. 80.

that occasion he made such great preparations both of men and ships, as gave all the world reason to think, that he had the Romans much more in view, than his rebellious subjects. Besides which, though he had promised by the Treaty to cede Cappadocia to Ariabarzanes, he still retained several fortresses in it.

Muræna, who had been left by Sylla in Asia, as I have said, with Fimbria's legions, was very glad to have these reasons or pretexts for renewing the war. For, according to Appian, he ardently desired a triumph.

Whilst this design engrossed him, Archelaus took refuge with him, with his wife and children, not believing himself safe in the court of Mithridates. That General had been suspected by his master from the time of the battle of Chæronea. His negociation with Sylla had increased those suspicions: and Mithridates, to whom that peace had been hard and shameful, was assured, that Archelaus, in treating it, had sacrificed the interests of his Prince to those of the Romans. So much was more than was necessary to induce Mithridates to proceed to the most rigorous extremities; and Archelaus, who knew him well, having put himself into Muræna's hands, spared no pains to prevail upon him to renew the war.

*Events of
that war,
not consi-
derable.*

Muræna easily gave in to a counsel, to which he was much inclined of himself before: and having entered Cappadocia, he marched towards Comana, a city famous for the temple of Bellona, which was extremely revered in the country, and prodigiously rich. He cut some troops of Mithridates's cavalry to pieces, seized the city, and plundered the temple.

On these first hostilities, the King of Pontus ^{A. R. 672.} sent an Embassy to Muræna, to represent to ^{Ant. C. 80.} him, that he acted contrary to the Treaty recently concluded; and to demand that he should conform to it. He had made an ill choice of his Ambassadors. They were Greek Philosophers, who instead of supporting the interests of their master, laboured to discredit and render him odious. The Roman, who desired the war, was not likely to be dissuaded from it by such an Embassy. He acted even on this occasion with notorious breach of faith, if Appian's account be true. As the Treaty between Sylla and Mithridates had not been reduced to writing, and both sides had been contented with the execution of the conditions, Muræna said, that he knew nothing of it, continued his incursions and ravages, and took up his winter quarters in Cappadocia. All that I have been saying probably passed in the Consulship of Scipio and Norbanus the 669th year of Rome.

Mithridates sent his complaints to Rome, ^{A. R. 670.} and waiting an answer, he had even the patience to suffer Muræna to pursue his hostilities unmolested. At length Calidius arrived, bringing with him not a written Decree of the Senate, but a meer verbal order to Muræna, to discontinue making war against Mithridates. At least he talked this language to him in public. But they saw each other in private: and Muræna, continued the war. Perhaps the Senate was not sorry, that he harassed the King of Pontus; resolving to approve him if he succeeded, or to disavow him, if unsuccessful. Muræna in consequence passed the ^{Memnon.} river Halys, as if intending to march to Sinope, ^{apud Phot.}

A. R. 672. which was the place where Mithridates was
Ant. C. 80. born, and the capital of the Kingdom of his
ancestors.

Appian. Mithridates seeing himself driven to extre-
mities, sent Gordius against the Roman Gene-
ral, and soon after followed him in person
with great forces. The armies met near the
Halys, with the river between them. The
King of Pontus passed it, notwithstanding the
resistance of the enemy, and came to a rude

Memnon. battle. What results from the account most
in Muræna's favour, is that Mithridates had the
advantage at first, but that afterwards the Ro-
mans having resumed courage, they parted
with equal success. It appears, that both sides
pretended to the victory, without either's hav-
ing great room however to ascribe the glory
of it to itself, as they removed from each other
as if by concert, and retired towards two very
different sides; Mithridates towards Colchis,
and Muræna into Phrygia.

Appian. However Mithridates, who affected pomp,
resolved to celebrate this pretended victory by
a solemn sacrifice after the manner of the Per-
sians, from whom he derived his origin. Ap-
pian gives us the following description of it.
An immense pile of wood is raised upon the
top of an high mountain: and the Kings them-
selves carry the first pieces, which are to serve
as the foundation to the whole edifice. Below
and around this pile a second is erected, which
occupies less space. Upon that above are laid
the offerings, that are to be consumed in ho-
nour of the gods; honey, wine, milk, oil,
and perfumes. Upon that below, a feast is
served for those who assist at the sacrifice.
These enormous piles are afterwards kindled;
and

and form a real conflagration, the flames of which are perceived forty leagues out at sea, and inflame the air round about to such a degree, that it is not possible for many days to approach the place, where the feast has been celebrated.

A. R. 672.
Ant. C. 80.

The action I have been relating was the last of this war. Sylla being created Dictator sent Muræna orders to desist from carrying on the war. The same Gabinius, who carried him these orders, was also commissioned to reconcile the Kings Mithridates and Ariobarzanes. Every thing was executed conformably to the Dictator's orders: and Mithridates, to seal the reconciliation, gave Ariobarzanes and Gabinius a great feast. At this feast he proposed prizes, according to his custom, for those who should drink or eat most, or should excel either in singing, or cracking jokes. Gabinius was the only one, who had no share in these indecent disputes; and thereby sustained the dignity of his character and nation.

End of the war.
A. R. 671.

This is all History relates of Muræna's war with Mithridates, which continued almost three years. We find nothing in this account, that much deserves a triumph; unless that Sylla, knowing what trophies Mithridates had raised of his pretended victory, was willing, in order to sustain the honour of the Roman name, to oppose them with Muræna's triumph.

Though the peace had been made, or rather renewed with Mithridates, Asia was not in tranquillity. The Pirates, of whom we shall have occasion to speak a great deal in the sequel, ruined the coasts by their ravages. It is probable, that it was to check them, Dolabella, who had been Prætor the year before,

A. R. 672.
Ant. C. 83.

*Verres,
Dolabella,
Proconsul
of Cilicia's
Lieute-
nant.*

*Cic. in
Ver. I. 44,
&c.*

*He is for
taking a-
way the
daughter
of Philo-
damus;
and after-
wards cau-
ses Philo-
damus
himself
and his
son to be
condemned
to die.*

and must not be confounded with the Consul of the same name, was sent into Cilicia with the title and power of Proconsul. But being charged to make war with the Pyrates, he carried with him a Pirate more formidable to the Allies, in the person of Verres, whom he took for his Lieutenant. Cicero gives us a long detail of the depredations and violences of that wretch. I shall extract from it a single fact, which will shew, how deplorable the condition of the subjects of the Empire was. It was become still worse since the proscriptions. The Magistrates in the Provinces believed themselves authorized by that example to tyrannize over the people. (a) For after so horrible a cruelty practised over citizens, what was there, that could seem unjust in respect to allies?

Verres having obtained a commission from Dolabella, to go to Nicomedes King of Bithynia, went to Lampascus, a city of the Hellespont. He was a monster in whom united all vices; rapacious, cruel, and debauched to excess. When he arrived at Lampascus, he gave orders to his officers and followers to carry off the daughter of one of the most illustrious citizens of the place, who was called Philodamus. The father, a person venerable for his age, and the brother of the young maid, stood in her defence. A combat ensued, in which Verres's people were very roughly handled, and even one of his Lictors was killed. This was not all. The horror of such a fact raised the whole city: the people mutinied, and piled up wood round

(a) *Defitum est enim vi-
deri quidquam in socios ini-
quum, quum existisset in*

*cives tanta crudelitas. Cic. de
Off. II. 27.*

the

the house inhabited by Verres. He was in danger of being burnt alive, if the Roman citizens settled in the place, had not employed their prayers and representations with the inhabitants, who suffered themselves to be prevailed upon, and permitted Verres to retire.

A. R. 672.
Ant. C. 80.

Lampfacus was not in Dolabella's province. That city was part of the government of Asia properly so called, and had C. Nero for Proprætor. That Magistrate could not dispence with taking cognizance of a popular commotion, in which, blood had been shed, a Lictor killed, and a Lieutenant General in danger of being burnt alive. Verres apprehended the consequences of that affair; and not contented with labouring for his own safety, he resolved to stifle the proofs of his guilt by destroying those, whom he had forced to arm against him. To attain this, he desired Dolabella to come and assist in the prosecution. Dolabella, who was not a much better man than his Lieutenant, and on his return from his government was found guilty of extortion, quitted his province, army, and the war, with which he was charged, and repaired to Nero, carrying with him his Tribunes and other officers, who with himself became judges in this affair. Verres himself, which one would think incredible; was one of the judges whilst he was at the same time a witness, and had taken care to suborn an accuser. Philodamus on the contrary could find no defender, that would venture to speak in favour of innocence against so manifest an oppression. However, notwithstanding the credit of the president Dolabella, the number of the judges he had brought with him, who were his dependants, and the pressing

A. R. 672. sing instances and sollicitations of Verres, the
AUL. C. 80. injustice was so notorious, that all power could do at first was to obtain, not a condemnation of Philodamus, but a sentence, that the cause was not sufficiently clear, and that it was necessary to proceed to a new trial.

Verres, alarmed at not being able to carry the affair at the first attempt, redoubled his activity and instances. Dolabella talked in an high tone upon it to Nero, who was of a timorous disposition. They did so much, that they extorted a second sentence, by which with a very small majority of suffrages, Philodamus and his son were condemned to have their heads cut off.

(a) “ What a mournful sight, cries Cicero,
“ was this for the whole province of Asia! A
“ scaffold was erected in Laodicæa, on which
“ a father advanced in years was made to as-
“ cend, and on the other side his son, both to
“ be executed, the one for having preserved
“ his daughter from the attempts of an infa-
“ mous ravisher, the other for having defend-
“ ed his father’s life, and his sister’s honour.
“ They both shed tears in abundance, each
“ lamenting not for himself, but the son for
“ the fate of the father, and the father for that

(a) Constituitur in foro Laodicææ spectaculum acerbum, & miserum, & grave toti Asiæ provinciæ; grandis natu parens, adductus ad supplicium, ex altera parte filius; ille, quòd pudicitiam liberum, hic, quòd vitam patris famamque sororis defenderat. Flebat uterque, non de suo supplicio, sed pater de filii morte, de patris filius. Quid lachrymarum ip-

sum Neronem putatis profudisse? quem fletum totius Asiæ fuisse: quem luctum & gemitum Lampsacenorum? Securi percussos esse homines innocentes, nobiles, socios populi Romani atque amicos, propter hominis flagitiosissimi singularem nequitiam, atque improbissimam cupiditatem! *Cic. in Verr. l. I. n. 76.*

“ of the son. Nero himself, who had condemned
 “ them, could not refuse tears to their misfor-
 “ tune : all Asia was afflicted for it ; especially
 “ the people of Lampascus, who raised sad cries
 “ and groans even to heaven, on seeing innocent
 “ persons, illustrious in their country, and friends
 “ and allies of the Roman People, sacrificed to
 “ the revenge and security of an abandoned
 “ wretch, guilty of the most criminal violence.”

A. R. 672.
 Ant. C. 80.

Such were the horrible excesses perpetrated at this time by the Roman Magistrates in the Provinces ; and in this manner did that Empire degenerate into Tyranny, (a) which in former times was so moderate, that the Romans might rather have been deemed the protectors, than the masters, of the universe.

In the mean time Sylla was active at Rome to strengthen the party, to which he had transferred the upperhand, and to give a durable consistence to the plan of government he had instituted. Besides the shedding of so much blood, the lopping of so many heads, and the authority of the Commonwealth replaced in the hands of the Senate and principal nobility, he was also for making himself creatures amongst the People. In order to this he enfranchised ten thousand slaves young and vigorous, who all became Roman citizens, and according to custom assumed the name of their patron Cornelius.

Ten thousand slaves made free by Sylla.
 Appian. Civil. I.

But the most powerful support which he provided for his party, were the military colonies that he distributed throughout all Italy. Having confiscated the lands of a great number of municipal cities, which had favoured his ene-

Lands distributed to the Officers and Soldiers of twenty-three legions.

(a) Illud patrociniū Orbis terræ verius quam imperium poterat nominari. Cic. de Off. II. 27.

A. R. 672.
 ANL C. 80.

mies, he divided those lands amongst the officers and soldiers of three and twenty legions. These amounted to above an hundred thousand fighting men, who being indebted to him for their establishment, were consequently very strongly concerned to support his laws, on which the least attack could not be made, without the hazard of their whole fortunes.

By all these regulations Sylla enabled himself to abdicate the supreme authority, and to return into private life, as he did the year following. He began by refusing the Consulship, in which the People offered to continue him, and he caused P. Servilius Vatia, and Ap. Claudius to be elected Consuls.

A. R. 673.
 ANL C. 79.

P. SERVILIUS VATIA, who was afterwards
 surnamed ISAURICUS.

Ap. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

Sylla abdicates the Dictatorship. Reflections upon that event.

It was therefore in this year, that Sylla, without being forced by any body, and at the time when the consent of the citizens seemed to legitimate his usurpation, renounced the highest fortune, to which any mortal had ever attained before him, and voluntarily abdicated the Dictatorship. It is superfluous to say, that the whole universe was strangely surprized at an event so little expected. Even to this day it is thought and spoke of with astonishment. People cannot conceive neither that a man who had confronted so many dangers, and undergone so many labours, for the attainment of dominion, should afterwards divest himself of it with his own free-will; nor even that it could consist with his personal security to abandon himself without defence to the mercy of that

that prodigious number of enemies, which he had made by deluging Rome, and all Italy with torrents of blood ; having killed an hundred thousand Romans in battles : having destroyed in a still more odious manner by the proscriptions ninety Senators, of whom fifteen were persons of Consular dignity, and above two thousand Knights ; and lastly having exercised his terrible revenge upon whole cities, some of which he had dismantled, and others totally destroyed ; so that he thought he had shewn favour to those, of which he had only confiscated the lands, or demolished the citadels.

A. R. 673.
Ant. C. 79.

If I may be allowed to add my reflections upon so singular a fact, I shall first say, that the danger was not so great for Sylla, as it might appear. He had lodged the whole power of the state in the hands of his partisans. All those, who possessed any office, or had any credit in the Commonwealth, all those, who had purchased the estates of the proscribed, all those who had received lands and settlements from him, were highly interested to defend both Sylla and his laws. The event justifies this observation. Sylla died in his bed : whereas Cæsar, who had * derided him, and had observed a different conduct, was daggered in the senate. And as to Sylla's laws, they were respected long after his death, as we shall have frequent occasion to observe.

* Suetonius (Cæs. c. 77.) tells us, that Cæsar said, *Sullam nescisse literas, qui Dictaturam deposuerit.* This is a pun not easily translated, in which Cæsar plays upon the

word *Dictatura*, which signifies Dictatorship, and at the same time refers to the custom of Grammarians and other teachers, who dictate plans and lessons to their scholars.

As

A. R. 673.
Ant. C. 79.

As to what regards his disgust of sovereign power, it is still less surprizing, that Sylla should have some feelings of that kind. He had always loved pleasure: and the hurry of business and public affairs is very disagreeable to a voluptuous person. As long as his ambition was inflamed by difficulty and dangers, it took place of his natural indolence: But when satisfied, it presented nothing but empty and imaginary goods, compounded with anxieties and every kind of torment, it suffered him to fall back again into his natural disposition; and he corrected one vice by another.

*Ceremony
of the ab-
dication.
Appian.*

The ceremony of his abdication passed in the calmest manner imaginable. He came to the Forum with his Licitors and Guard, ascended the tribunal of harangues, and from thence declared to the assembled People, that he abdicated the Dictatorship. He was even so bold to add, that he was ready to give an account of his administration to whomsoever should require it of him. He afterwards descended, dismissed his Licitors and Guards, and walked sedately up and down the Forum, accompanied with a small number of his friends. The whole People considered him with a kind of amazement, and even dismay: and they could scarce believe their eyes in respect to so strange an alteration.

*Sylla is in-
sulted by a
young man.*

There was but one young man, who, when Sylla withdrew, began to attack him with injurious expressions: and as no body took upon them to silence him, emboldened by impunity, he followed him quite to his house, continuing all the way to load him with reproaches. Sylla, who had so often made the greatest persons and the most powerful cities feel the dread-

dreadful effects of his anger, suffered the insolence of that audacious youth with perfect tranquillity. He only said on entering his house: *See here a young fellow, who will prevent any other, that may be in the like station with me, from having any thoughts of quitting it.* A very sensible reflection; and which it is not at all necessary to take with Appian for a prediction of what Cæsar did afterwards.

Sylla in renouncing his office, did not entirely renounce, the city, nor the publick affairs: and Plutarch relates, that being desirous to prevent Lepidus from being chosen Consul for the ensuing year, and not being able to succeed, because Pompey had supported the candidate with his whole credit, and had carried it, he called that young man to him, all elate from his success, and told him: *You have great reason to triumph. It is a glorious action, to have caused Lepidus to be chosen Consul, and even before Catullus; that is, to have caused the preference to be given, to the most violent of all the seditious against the most virtuous citizen of Rome. For the rest keep yourself well upon your guard; for you have just been arming an enemy against yourself.* He spoke truth as the event will shew.

Sylla resolved afterwards to offer a tenth part of his estate to Hercules. He made a feast upon this occasion, in which he gave banquets to the People during several days with such profusion, that a great quantity of provisions were thrown every day into the Tiber; and wine was drank at it forty years old and upwards.

In

A. R. 673.
Ant. C. 79.

He re-
proaches
Pompey
with hav-
ing made
Lepidus
Consul.
Plut. in
Syll. &
Pomp.

He gives a
great feast
to the Peo-
ple.
Plut. in
Sylla.

A. R. 673.
Ant. C. 79.

In such a man as Sylla every thing is of consequence : and I shall not be afraid to insert in this place what Plutarch relates of the death of his wife, and his second marriage.

Death of
Metella.

During the feast, of which I have just been speaking, Metella fell dangerously ill. A religious Festival was not to be interrupted and profaned by the doleful things of death and mourning. He however made her magnificent obsequies ; and that in contempt of the laws himself had passed for fixing this kind of expences. He was not more strict in observing those, he had made against the luxury of the table. To mitigate his grief, and console his widowhood, he passed the days in great and sumptuous entertainments with his usual company of Minstrels and Comedians.

Sylla mar-
ries again
with Va-
leria.

Soon after Metella's death, Sylla being at the Theatre, was seated near a young Lady of condition, called Valeria, sister of the Orator Hortensius, and lately separated from her husband. That Lady passing behind Sylla to go to her place, laid her hand upon him, and pulled away a piece of the fringe of his robe. Sylla turning about, she said to him, *There is nothing strange in what I do. You are fortunate ; and I am very glad to have any thing of yours, that may make me so.* This beginning pleased Sylla, and was followed by looks and smiles on both sides during the play. It ended in a marriage, upon which Plutarch (a) observes with reason, that supposing, as he inclines to believe, Valeria, prudent and virtuous, there

(a) Σύλλας ἐὶ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα
σώφρονα καὶ γυναικῶν, ἀλλ' ἐκ
ἐκ σώφροτος καὶ καλῆς ἐγῆμεν
ἐγχεῖς, ὅψι καὶ λυγυρίᾳ μετῆρα καὶ

δίκην παραβληθεὶς ὑφ' ᾧ τὰ
αἰσχιστα καὶ ἀναιδέστατα πάθος
κινεῖσθαι πέφυκεν.

was at least no great prudence and virtue in what determined Sylla to espouse her; and that it ill suited that old warrior, to suffer himself to be caught like a young coxcomb, by such trivial baits, that are usually the source of the most loose and shameful passions.

A. R. 673.
Ant. C. 79.

M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

Q. LUTATIUS CATULUS.

A. R. 674.
Ant. C. 78.

Sylla did not long enjoy the rest he had procured himself by abdicating the Dictatorship.

He had retired to his country-house at Appian. Cumæ: and there he amused his leisure either with innocent diversions, as hunting and fishing, or at feasts, that breathed nothing but dissolution and debauch. In the midst of these pleasures, he was seized with an horrible disease, which he dissembled to himself as long as it was possible, and which he even nourished and increased by his intemperance. This distemper was called *the lousy disease*. His intrails were corrupted, and his flesh was full of lice, but in such abundance, that though many persons were employed night and day in cleaning him, what they took away were nothing in comparison with what were produced incessantly. It was in vain to wash and shift him: every thing was to no purpose. His cloaths, the linen with which he was rubbed in the bath, even his victuals were covered with that nauseous vermin, the multitude and rapid propagation of which, beyond all credibility, rendered all the pains that could be taken fruitless.

Plut.

Sylla is seized with the lousy disease.

A. R. 674.
Ant. C. 78.

*He gives
laws to
the inha-
bitants of
Puzzuoli.*

In this condition Sylla, no doubt to divert his thoughts, if that had been possible, from a terrible evil, and his approaching end, sought to procure himself some employment. Poor resource! Though the only one that human wisdom was capable of supplying. Let us not admire a frivolous and ineffectual courage against an avenging God. Only Religion affords solid consolations to a Christian, who knows and adores in the severest trials the hand of a Father, and who by patience turns the chastisements he suffers into meritorious offerings, and such as are capable of disarming the wrath of him who chastises. Sylla even employed himself in public affairs: and ten days before his death being informed, that the people of Puzzuoli in his neighbourhood were at variance amongst themselves, he drew them up a body of laws for their better regulation. He worked also upon the Commentaries of his life, which I have frequently cited after Plutarch: and he even added things to it but two days before his death; so that through a remarkable singularity, he not only foresaw his end, but had even spoke of it in some measure. For having all his life-time confided in Astrologers and dreams, he retained that weakness till the approach of death. He accordingly finished his Memoirs by saying, the Chaldæans had foretold him, that after having lived happy, he should die in the utmost height of his successes and prosperity. He added, that the preceding night he had seen a child of his by Metella in a dream, that had died a little before its mother; and that this child had exhorted him to banish all anxiety, and prepare to rejoin him and Metella, in order to enjoy perfect tranquillity with them.

*He works
upon the
Memoirs of
his life,
till with-
in two
days of his
death.*

them. Sylla was far from thinking of the punishment reserved for him by the Divine justice. A. R. 674.
Ant. C. 78.

The day after this dream, he made his will, in which he remembered all his friends by some legacies, except Pompey, whom he did not nominate amongst his son's guardians, that he left almost in the cradle. The glory of that young Captain seems to have excited some jealousy in Sylla, and induced a coldness in respect to him. On the contrary he expressed great affection for Lucullus; to whom he inscribed his Commentaries, and made him guardian to his son. And this was the commencement of the pique between Lucullus and Pompey, the effects of which were carried to a very great height. Sylla's Will.
Appian.
Plut. in
Pomp. &
Luc.

The day before he died, he was informed that Granius, the Magistrate of Puzzuoli, and debtor to the Community of that city, deferred payment, expecting his death to refuse it openly, and defraud his fellow citizens. Sylla in his last moments resumed his natural character: so little do men change. Violent and bloody, he caused Granius to be brought to his chamber, and ordered his slaves to strangle him. The anger and agitation he was in, made an abscess burst; and he voided a great quantity of blood and matter. His strength failed him; he passed the night very ill, and died the next day at sixty years of age. Last violence of Sylla.
He dies.
Plut. in Sylla.

Such was the death of the fortunate Sylla. "He (a) is the only one of all mankind, as Pliny Reflexion upon the surname of
Felix,
Fortunate,
assumed by Sylla.

(a) Unus hominum ad hoc ævi, Felicis sibi cognomen afferuit L. Sylla, civili nempe sanguine, & patriæ op-
pugnatione

A. R. 674. “ Pliny observes, or at least the first, who
 Ant. C. 78. “ presumed to assume that surname, so little
 “ suiting human nature. And upon what pre-
 “ tentions did he claim it? For having shed
 “ the blood of his fellow-citizens; for having
 “ twice taken his country by force of arms;
 “ for having been capable of proscribing so
 “ many thousand Romans. O mistaken good-
 “ fortune! But had not the manner of his
 “ death something more dreadful in it, than
 “ the fate of those he had proscribed? What
 “ good fortune was that of a man, whose in-
 “ trails corrupt and devour themselves, and
 “ perpetually breed thousands of executioners
 “ for their own destruction!” He boasted that
 he of all mankind had best rewarded his friends,
 and revenged himself upon his enemies. But
 he experienced in this life the divine vengeance,
 and a vengeance highly capable of humbling
 human pride.

*Sylla's ob-
 sequies.
 Appian.*

*Plut. in
 Sall. &
 Pomp.*

The death of Sylla immediately occasioned
 great and warm contests. The Senate, with
 Catulus one of the two Consuls at their head,
 was for having the last honours paid to Sylla
 with pomp and magnificence, and decreed,
 that his obsequies should be celebrated, and his
 body interred in the field of Mars: the other
 Consul Lepidus opposed this. Pompey on this
 occasion shewed himself a generous friend; and
 forgetting the coldness of Sylla for him towards
 the end of his life, he expressed all possible
 zeal for honouring his memory. He employ-
 ed his whole credit, and did not spare either

pugnatione adoptatum. —
 O prava interpretatio! —
 Age, non exitus vitæ ejus,
 omnium proscriptorum ab

illo calamitate crudelior fuit,
 erodente se ipso corpore &
 supplicia sibi gignente? *Plin.*
vii. 43.

prayers or menaces; and lastly contributed more than any one to secure all the tranquillity necessary at the magnificent funeral, that was prepared for Sylla. A. R. 674.
Ant. C. 78.

His body was carried from his house at Appian. Cumæ, where he died, to Rome upon a bed of state, all glittering with gold. He was drest in the ornaments of Triumph. Four and twenty Lictors walked before it, with the rods and axes, as when he was Dictator. He was escorted by a great number of persons on horseback and trumpets. Those who had formerly served under him came industriously to pay their last duties to their General; and as they arrived, they took their ranks, walked in order, and formed rather a numerous army than a procession.

When all this pomp arrived at Rome, it augmented still much more both in number and magnificence. On the day of the obsequies more than two thousand crowns were carried, presents of the cities and provinces, where Sylla had commanded, and made war; of the Legions who had served under his command; and even of private persons. The colleges of the Priests and Vestals surrounded the body. The Senate came next with the Magistrates invested with the ornaments of their dignities. After them walked the Roman Knights; the troops with their golden eagles and arms glittering with silver closed the march. A prodigious number of trumpets sounded mournful airs, adapted to this solemn ceremony; and those were answered by acclamations not tumultuous, but made regularly. The Senate led the way, and was followed by the Knights, the army,

A. R. 674.
Ant. C. 78.

and lastly by the People, the multitude of whom was immense.

It was customary for these processions to pass through the Forum; and there, the nearest relation, ascending the Tribunal of harangues, pronounced a speech in praise of the deceased and his ancestors. Faustus, Sylla's son, being then an infant, the best Orator in Rome was chosen to perform that office. Appian makes no other mention of him.

After the funeral Oration, some * young and able-bodied Senators took up the bed of state upon their shoulders, and carried it to the field of Mars, where the funeral pile was erected. The quantity of perfumes consumed on this occasion is incredible. The Ladies were at this expence, and they piqued themselves upon equalling or even surpassing the magnificence of all the rest of the ceremony in this respect. For besides two hundred and ten litters filled with perfumes of every kind, a statue of Sylla of a moderate size, and that of a Lictor placed before him, were made with the most precious incense and cinnamon. The Knights and principal Officers of the troops set fire to the funeral pile.

Sylla had ordered, that his body should be burnt, contrary to the custom of his house. For down to him all the Cornelii Patricians had been buried in the ground. But as through a meanness of revenge, he had caused the corpse of Marius to be dug up, he apprehended

* I am afraid, that Appian has transferred to Sylla what he has done in his time in respect to the Emperors. It seems hardly probable to me, that the Senators, in the time of the Commonwealth, should descend so low as to carry a corpse upon their shoulders.

the same treatment of his own, and resolved that nothing should remain of him but ashes. His tomb was still to be seen in the field of Mars in Plutarch's time ; and there was an epitaph upon it, said to be composed by himself, the sense of which was, what we have said above, " that he had surpassed both friends and enemies, the one in the good, and the other in the ill, he had done them."

A. R. 674.
Ant. C. 78.

BOOK THE THIRTY FOURTH.

THE
ROMAN HISTORY.

WHICH contains the wars of Lepidus, Sertorius, Spartacus, and several detached Facts; amongst which will be found some accounts of Cicero and Cæsar: the whole contained within the space of seven years, from the year 674, to the year 681, inclusively.

S E C T. I.

Sallust's History lost. Sylla's example fatal to liberty. Character of Pompey's ambition. Lepidus undertakes to raise the conquered party, Idea of his character and conduct. Discourse of Lepidus to the People. Reflexion upon his scheme. Catullus and all the persons of worth oppose him. Lepidus assembles troops, and puts himself at their head. Accommodation concluded with him. He returns a second time with

with troops against Rome, and demands a second Consulship. Speech of Philippus against Lepidus. Catulus and Pompey give Lepidus battle, and gain the victory. Election of Consuls. Pompey causes Brutus the father of him, who killed Cæsar, to be slain. Lepidus defeated a second time, goes to Sardinia, and dies. Moderation of the victorious party. Pompey is sent into Spain against Sertorius. History of the war with Sertorius traced from its origin. Sertorius sets out from Italy, and goes to Spain. He strengthens himself there; and particularly gains the affection of the People. Anniius, sent by Sylla, drives him out of Spain, and obliges him to keep the sea. Sertorius conceives thoughts of retiring to the fortunate islands. He goes to Africa. He is invited by the Lusitanians to put himself at their head. Great qualities of Sertorius. Idea of his exploits in Spain. Metellus Pius, sent against him, experiences great difficulties. He undertakes a siege, which Sertorius obliges him to raise. Great successes of Sertorius. His address in commanding the Barbarians. Hind of Sertorius. He disciplines, and gives laws to the Spaniards. He takes care of the education of the children of the principal families. Incredible attachment of the Spaniards to him. He reserves all the rights of Sovereignty to the Romans. His love for his country; and for his mother. The troops of Perperna force their leader to join Sertorius. He corrects the blind impetuosity of the Barbarians by a comical, but instructive, Shew. He subdues the Characitanians by an ingenious stratagem. Pompey arrives in Spain. He is baffled before the city of Laurona. Action of justice of Sertorius. Win-

ter quarters. The armies take the field. Metellus gains a great battle over Hirtulejus. Battle of Sucrona between Sertorius and Pompey. Saying of Sertorius upon Metellus and Pompey. Sertorius's hind lost and found again. Good intelligence between Metellus and Pompey. General Action between Sertorius on one side, and Metellus and Pompey on the other. Sertorius dismisses his troops, who re-assemble soon after. Immoderate joy of Metellus on the occasion of his pretended victory over Sertorius. Pomp and luxury of the feasts given him. He sets a price upon the head of Sertorius. Metellus and Pompey, barrased and fatigued by Sertorius, retire into very remote quarters. Mitridates sends an Embassy to Sertorius, to ask his alliance. Haughty answer of Sertorius. Surprise of Mitridates. The alliance is concluded. Threatening letter of Pompey to the Senate, who sends him money. Perperna cabals against Sertorius. Desertion and treason punished with rigour. Cruelty of Sertorius in respect to the children, whom he caused to be brought up at Osca. Reflexion of Plutarch on that head. Conspiracy of Perperna against the life of Sertorius. Perperna becomes head of the party. He is defeated by Pompey, who causes him to be killed without vouchsafing to see him, and burns all Sertorius's papers. Peace restored in Spain. Trophy and triumphs of the victors.

M. ÆMILIUS

M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS,
Q. LUTATIUS CATULUS.

The History of the Consulship of Lepidus, *Sallust's History* and of the following years, was not only in-^{lost.}cluded in the great work of Livy, but had been treated by Sallust. If the writings of either one or the other of those great Historians had come down intire to us, we should not have so much cause to complain. But they have been lost; and I must go on, with the assistance of Freinshemius, to collect detached fragments of facts, where I find them scattered, in order to compose as good an whole as I can.

Sylla was dead: but his example subsisted, *Sylla's example fatal to liberty.* and was in many respects pernicious to the liberty of Rome.

In the first place he had taught the Roman Generals to attach the troops to their persons, and to make them subservient to the ambition of their Chief, even against the Commonwealth, who had confided them to him.

In the second, by distributing the lands of the citizens amongst the soldiers, he corrupted them *Author of Grandeur & Decadence des Romains.* for ever, as a Writer of abundance of wit observes. For from that moment there was not a man of the army, who did not wait an occasion, *p. 106.* that might put the estates of his fellow-citizens into his hands.

And lastly, the Dictatorship, peaceably held by him above two years, and of which he divested himself solely by his own choice, was an object, which could not fail to inflame the cupidity of every ambitious person, that should be in a condition to pretend to it. The prejudice, that the Romans were incapable of being en-

A. R. 674. Slaved, was at an end. The plan for subjecting
 Ant. C. 78. them was entirely laid down; and the question
 only was, to follow it. Accordingly Pompey
 laboured all his life with that view. He missed
 his aim: but Cæsar succeeded:

Character of Pompey's ambition. When I compare Pompey with Sylla and
 Cæsar, it is with a difference, that has been
 judiciously observed by Velleius. “He (a)
 “was greedy of power; but would not usurp
 “it; his desire was, that it should be confer-
 “red voluntarily upon him. For this reason
 “he shewed himself an equally great General
 “in war, and moderate citizen in the interior
 “government of the Commonwealth, except
 “when he apprehended having an equal. In
 “every other respect his conduct was entirely
 “laudable. He was a firm friend, and by no
 “means an implacable enemy; faithful and
 “sincere in reconciliation, and very easy in
 “accepting satisfaction; generally moderate in
 “the use of his power; in a word, almost
 “exempt from vices, except it were one of the
 “greatest, not to be able to suffer, in a free
 “city, the mistress of the Universe, of which
 “all the citizens were equal by constitution,
 “that any one of them should be his equal in

(a) Fuit (Pompeius) po-
 tentiæ quæ honoris causâ ad
 eum deferretur, non ut ab
 eo occuparetur, cupidissi-
 mus; dux bello peritissimus,
 civis in toga, nisi ubi vete-
 retur ne quem haberet pa-
 rem, modestissimus; amici-
 tiarum tenax, in offensis
 exorabilis, in reconcilianda
 gratia fidelissimus, in acci-
 pienda satisfactione facilli-

mus; potentiâ suâ nun-
 quam aut rarò ad impoten-
 tiam usus; penè omnium
 vitiorum expers, nisi nume-
 raretur inter maxima, in
 civitate libera dominaque
 gentium, indignari, quum
 omnes cives jure haberet
 pares, quemquam æqualem
 dignitate conspicere. *Vell.*
 II. 29.

“dignity.” This idea of Pompey’s character and conduct will be useful in the sequel. For he is now going to act the principal part in the Commonwealth, till Cæsar first shares his power with him, and afterwards subverts it. The Consul Lepidus, in endeavouring to raise the conquered party, gave Pompey occasion to continue acquiring glory by arms, and to augment his credit.

That Consul was far from being capable of executing so great a design as that which he had formed. He was a man of neither morals, nor talents, and who resembled those, whose place he aspired at, only in ambition. Some years before, he had governed Sicily as Prætor, and had been guilty of extortions, that had drawn upon him criminal prosecutions, when he returned to Rome. But he had found out the secret to bring the People into his interests; and his accusers seeing him favoured by the multitude, did not dare to pursue the charge they had brought against him. During Sylla’s Dictatorship, Lepidus, who was for being considered afterwards as the avenger of the proscribed, made no scruple to improve the occasion for enriching himself, and fattened with the blood of the unfortunate. He owns the fact himself in the speech we have of his amongst the fragments of Sallust; and he only endeavours to excuse himself under the frivolous pretext of having been forced to it fear for of drawing upon himself the indignation of the victor. The plunder of Sicily, and the spoils of the proscribed, enabled him to purchase the Consulship; and as soon as he saw himself in office, even in the life-time of Sylla, he began to embroil affairs,

The

A. R. 674.

Ant. C. 78.

*Speech of**Lepidus to**the People.*

The accounts we have being very defective in respect to the facts I am to speak of in this place, I cannot do better, to give an idea of Lepidus's project, than to extract the principal passages of the speech I have just mentioned. It is an harangue to the People, in which, without discovering himself entirely, he however sufficiently gives us to understand what his views are.

He supposes every where in it Sylla to be master of the Commonwealth, because in reality, though he had abdicated the Dictatorship, it was his party that ruled. After having began by inveighing against his person, and the tyranny under which he made the Commonwealth groan, he attacks his adherents. (a) " I cannot be sufficiently surpriz-
 " ed, said he, when I see Sylla's partizans,
 " persons of the greatest names, and to whom
 " their ancestors left the most glorious exam-
 " ples, make themselves the slaves of a ty-
 " rant, to purchase at that price, the power
 " of tyrannizing over you. They chuse to
 " be doubly unjust, to you and to themselves,

(a) *Satellites quidem ejus (Syllæ) homines maximi nominis, non minùs optimis majorum exemplis, nequeo satis mirari, dominationis in vos servitium suum mercedem dant: & utrumque per injuriam malunt, quàm optumo jure liberi agere: præclara Brutorum, atque Æmiliorum, & Lutatorum proles, geniti ad ea quæ majores virtute peperere subvertunda. Nam quid à Pyrrho, Annibale, Philip-*

poque, & Antiocho defensum est aliud, quàm libertas & sua cuique sedes; neu cui, nisi legibus, pareremus? quæ cuncta sævus iste Romulus, quasi ab externis rapta, tenet; non tot exercituum clade, neque consulis, & aliorum principum, quos fortuna belli consumpserat, satiatus: sed tum crudelior, quum plerosque secundæ res in miserationem ex ira vertunt. Sall. Hist. l. I.

“ rather

“ rather than to live as citizens of a free State. A. R. 674.
Ant. C. 78.
 “ This worthy posterity of the Brutuses,
 “ the Æmilii and Lutatii seem born to de-
 “ prive this Empire of all, that the virtue of
 “ their ancestors has acquired it. For what
 “ defended it against the arms of Pyrrhus, Han-
 “ nibal, Philip, and Antiochus, but the li-
 “ berty of our country, and the tranquillity in
 “ which every one securely possessed the in-
 “ heritance of his ancestors, and knew no
 “ other masters than the laws? Now this is
 “ exactly what this cruel tyrant keeps in his
 “ hands, as spoils taken from a foreign ene-
 “ my. His thirst of blood and slaughter was
 “ not satiated with the destruction of so many
 “ illustrious citizens as have perished in battle :
 “ Prosperity, which mollifies others, and makes
 “ pity succeed anger, has only made him more
 “ cruel and inhuman.”

From so vehement an invective he deduces a conclusion, that naturally follows, and exhorts the People to rise up against such a tyranny, and shake off so odious an yoke. And after having described in the strongest terms the slavery, to which they were now reduced, the whole People deprived of their lands and estates, the laws, judgments, revenues, provinces, the fate of Kings, all in the power of a single person, he adds : “ Does (a) there remain any
 “ other choice for men of courage to make,
 “ than of delivering themselves from injustice,

(a) Est ne viris reliqui
 aliud quàm solvere injuriam,
 aut mori per virtutem?
 quoniam quidem unum om-
 nibus finem natura vel ferro

septis statuit ; neque quis-
 quam extremam necessitatem
 nihil ausus, nisi muliebri in-
 genio, expectat.

“ or

A. R. 674. " or to die with courage ; as after all death is
 A. R. C. 78. " an inevitable law, from which neither walls
 " nor armed guards can defend any one, and
 " it is abject cowardice to wait for the last ex-
 " tremities, without daring any thing in defence
 " of oneself against them."

It is easy to conceive, that Sylla could not but treat a man, capable of such language, as a seditious person. Lepidus to obviate that reproach artfully employs all that was odious in the conduct of his adversary. " I am (a)
 " a seditious person; says he, if Sylla's opi-
 " nion is to be taken, because I complain of
 " the rewards obtained by sedition and civil
 " wars ; and because I claim the rights of a
 " free and real peace, I am to be considered
 " as desirous to renew the war. Undoubted-
 " ly you will not be able to subsist, and pos-
 " sess the empire in safety and tranquillity, if
 " the last and lowest of mankind, if wretch-
 " ed freedmen do not peaceably enjoy the for-
 " tunes of others, and squander that profusely,
 " which cost the right owners so much labour
 " and sweat to obtain ; if you do not approve
 " the murders of so many innocents, proscrib-
 " ed on account of their riches, the horrible
 " punishments inflicted upon the most illustri-
 " ous persons, the desolation of the city, made
 " a desert by banishments and slaughters, the

(a) Verum ego seditiosus
 ut Sulla ait, quia præmia tur-
 barum queror, & bellum cu-
 piens, quia jura pacis repeto.
 Scilicet quia non aliter salvi
 satique tuti in imperio eritis,
 nisi Vertius Picens, scriba
 Cornelius, aliena bene parata

prodegerint, nisi approbá-
 veritis. omnes proscriptiones
 innoxiorum ob divitias, cru-
 ciatus virorum illustrium,
 vastatam urbem fugâ & cædi-
 bus, bona civium miserorum,
 quasi Cimbricam prædam,
 venum aut dono data.

" possessions

“ possessions of the unfortunate citizens sold, ^{A. R. 674.}
 “ or given away still more unworthily, as if ^{Ant. C. 78.}
 “ they were spoils taken from Cimbri.”

Lepidus to encourage the Romans to take arms against the sway of Sylla, represented his party as weak: he insisted upon his having made a great number of malecontents by the unworthy preference he had given to low wretches, still more contemptible for their manners than the baseness of their origin. He pretended, that he was supported only by a small number of partisans, black with crimes; and that the troops themselves who had served under him, would not fail to espouse the side of liberty. “ My (a) greatest confidence, says
 “ he, is in a victorious army, who by so
 “ many perils and wounds have acquired no-
 “ thing but to give themselves a Tyrant. Un-
 “ less we imagine their design was to subvert
 “ the Tribunitian power, which their ancestors
 “ had established by arms; or that they intend-
 “ ed to deprive themselves of the protection of
 “ the Laws, and the authority of the Judi-
 “ cature. They would undoubtedly be finely
 “ rewarded by those marches, and those uncultivated forests, to which they are banished:
 “ insomuch that hatred and infamy are for
 “ them, and rewards for a small number of

(a) Maxumam mihi fiduciam parit victor exercitus, cui per tot vulnera & labores nihil præter tyrannum quaesitum est. Nisi forte Tribuniciam potestatem eversum profecti sunt, per arma conditam à majoribus suis; utique jura & judicia sibimet extorquerent: egregiâ scilicet

mercede, quum relegari in paludes & sylvas, contumeliam atque invidiam suam, præmia penes paucos intelligerent. Quam igitur tanto agmine atque animis incidit? Quia secundæ res mirè sunt vitiis obtentui: quibus labefactatis, quam formidatus antea est, tam contemnetur.

“ vile

A. R. 674. " vile flatterers. Wherefore then, adds he,
 Ant. C. 78. " does Sylla seem so well guarded, and with
 " such great pomp? It is because prosperity
 " wonderfully covers vices and weak sides.
 " But on the first disgrace you will see him fall
 " into as great contempt, as he is now for-
 " midable."

Nothing was wanting to so warm and ve-
 hement an exhortation, except Lepidus's of-
 fering himself as Leader. He did so, and con-
 cluded his discourse thus (a). " I could con-
 " tent myself with this supreme magistracy, to
 " which you have raised me by your suffrages.
 " This sufficed for sustaining the glory of my
 " ancestors, to satisfy my ambition, and even
 " for my security. But I did not believe, that
 " I ought solely to regard my own advantage ;
 " and I preferred liberty attended with dangers
 " to a safe and quiet slavery. If therefore you
 " approve my sentiments, come Romans, and
 " with the aid of the gods, follow the Consul
 " M. Æmilius, who is ready to put himself at
 " your head, for the re-establishment of the
 " publick liberty."

We see by this discourse, that the design of
 Lepidus was to destroy all that Sylla had done ;
 to form a party for himself, by raising the mean-
 est of the People, always ready through their
 misery to hearken to those, who promise them
 a change ; to give those hopes of being re-esta-
 blished in their estates, who had been deprived

(a) Mibi quanquam per
 hoc summum imperium satis
 quæsitum erat nomini mayo-
 rum dignitati, atque etiam
 præsidio, tamen non fuit
 consilium privatas opes fa-
 cere : potiorque visa est peri-

culosa libertas quieto servitio.
 Quæ si probatis, adeste,
 Quirites, & bene juvantibus
 diis, M. Æmilium consulem
 ducem & auctorem sequimini
 ad recipiendam libertatem.

of them; and to recal all that remained of the proscribed. All this had the colour of justice. But besides, that the intentions of Lepidus were not what he pretended, and that he laboured only for himself, in feigning a great zeal for the public, there are occasions, in which too strict an observance of justice becomes itself unjust, and in which there is a necessity, that particulars suffer, in order that the State itself may subsist. Sylla had insolently abused his victory. But however by supporting his institutions, the Commonwealth might enjoy some tranquillity. To cancel them, was to plunge it again into all the horrors, from which it had scarce emerged. Florus compares it to a sick person, (a) that has occasion for rest; and to a wounded one, for whom there was reason to fear taking off the dressings, even with design to promote the cure.

A. R. 674.
Ant. C. 78.
Reflexion upon the project of Lepidus.

Accordingly all the persons of worth, with Catulus at their head, opposed the designs of Lepidus, as soon as they became evident. But as it happens commonly enough, they acted at first with indolence, and instead of checking the evil in its birth by some degree of vigour, they gave him time by their inactivity to augment his force, and to make himself formidable.

Catulus and all the persons of worth oppose him.

The designs of Lepidus had no great consequences during Sylla's life. He also endeavoured ineffectually, as we have said, to prevent and disturb his obsequies. But they were scarce solemnized, before division openly broke out between him and Catulus. Lepidus had gained

Lepidus assembles troops and puts himself at their head.
Sall. Hist. l. I.

(a) Expediebat quasi ægræ faucibusque Reipublicæ requiescere quomodocumque,

ne vulnera curatione ipsa rescinderentur. *Flor. III. 23.*

Appian. Civ. l. I.
Flor. III.

the 23.

A. R. 674.
Ant. C. 78.

the populace by largesses. He raised Etruria, where the remains of Marius's party had preserved and defended themselves vigorously during two years in * Volaterra. He drew together all the proscribed, who had escaped death. And when his partisans were sufficiently numerous to form an army, he took off the mask, and went to put himself at their head.

* *Now*
Volaterra
in Tuscany.

Accommo-
dation con-
cluded
with him.

His forces were not yet considerable: and Catulus was of opinion, that he should be driven to extremities. But the majority of the Senate were inclined to lenity. The affair was turned into negotiation: Deputies were sent to Lepidus, and an accommodation was concluded, the principal conditions of which were, that the two Consuls should take an oath not to employ arms against each other, and that Lepidus should have the government of Gallia Narbonensis, with the command of an army. Thus as his rapine (a) had gained him the Consulship, the sedition he had excited, was rewarded with the government of a Province. These were great encouragements for a factious man, and highly capable of inducing him to continue practices, in which he had been so successful.

He returns
a second
time to
Rome with
troops, and
demands a
second Con-
sulship.

Accordingly when Lepidus went to take up on him the command of the troops, which he was to carry with him into his Province, he did not make haste to return to Rome, though it was his function to hold the assemblies for the election of the Consuls. He was for letting the year of his Consulship elapse; conceiving, that

(a) Ex rapinis Consulatum, ob seditionem provinciam cum exercitu adeptus

est. *Sallust. Hist. I. in Or. Phil.*

his oath obliged him only during the time he was in office, and that as soon as that expired, he should be at liberty to use the forces against his adversaries, which they had the imprudence to put into his hands. Accordingly the year expired without the election of Consuls: it was necessary to nominate *Interreges* successively to govern the Commonwealth: and Lepidus, having left in Gallia Cisalpina a body of troops under M. Brutus, to keep that country in his interests, advanced towards Rome with the greatest part of his forces, demanding a second Consulship.

INTERREGNUM.

WE have amongst the fragments of Sallust the harangue spoke on this subject in the Senate by the orator Philip, of whom I have already had occasion to speak several times: and it is principally from the lights I could extract from that discourse, that I have disposed the facts I have just related.

Philippus first reproaches the Senators in it with the indolence of the conduct they observed in respect to a seditious man, of which he had taken the advantage for making himself formidable. “ (a) When instead of acting with

(a) At tum erat Lepidus la ro cum calonibus & paucis licariis, quorum rem non diurnâ mercede vitam mutuaverit. Nunc est Proconsul cum imperio, non empto, sed dato à volis, cum legatis adhuc jure parentibus: & ad eum concurrere homines omnium ordinum cor-

ruptissimi, flagrant inopiâ & cupidinibus, scelerum conscientiam exagitatis, quibus quies in seditionibus, in pace turbæ sunt. Hi tumultum ex tumultu, bellum ex bello ferunt, Saturnini olim, post Sulpicii, dein Marii Damasippique, nunc Lepidi satellites.

A. R. 645. “ constancy, said he, to suppress a faction,
 Ant. C. 7. “ then only in its birth, you entered into a
 “ treaty with Lepidus, he was only a thief,
 “ supported by a few rabble, and a small num-
 “ ber of Cut-throats, every one of whom was
 “ ready to risque his blood and life for bread.
 “ He is now a Preconsul, invested with a
 “ command he has not bought, but received
 “ from you, attended by Lieutenant Generals,
 “ who obey him as their lawful Commander.
 “ And from all parts he has drawn together
 “ around him all that is most corrupt in the
 “ different orders of the state, men whose indi-
 “ gence and vices make capable of daring any
 “ thing, incessantly tormented with the re-
 “ membrance of their past crimes; who know
 “ no repose but in seditions, and to whom
 “ peace is a violent situation. These are the
 “ men, who make insurrection succeed to in-
 “ surrection, and civil war to civil war; ad-
 “ herents formerly to Saturnius, then to Sul-
 “ picius, afterwards to Marius and Damasip-
 “ pus, and lastly to Lepidus.”

We now come to the picture, that Philip gives of Lepidus and his conduct. The invective is of the most vehement kind. “ Are
 “ you *a*. moved, said he to the Senators, with
 “ the proposals made you by Lepidus? He
 “ requires, that what appertains to every one
 “ should be restored, and is rich only by the
 “ fortunes of others: he is for having the laws
 “ founded upon the right of war abolished, and

(*a*) An Lepidi mandata
 animos movent? qui, lacere
 ait, ea cuique reddi, & aliena
 tenet; belli jura rescindi,
 quum ipse armis cogat; —

concordiæ gratiâ p'bebi Tri-
 buniciam potestatem restitui,
 ex qua omnes discordiæ ac-
 censæ.

“ he

“ he reduces us to that by the force of arms : A. R. 675.
 “ he demands, for the sake of peace and con- Ant. C. 77
 “ cord, that the Tribunitian power should be
 “ re-established, from whence all our civil dis-
 “ sensions have arose.”

Then addressing himself to him, as if present : “ O thou, cried he, (a) the most vile and
 “ most impudent of mankind, will you per-
 “ swade us that you are moved by the indi-
 “ gence and tears of the citizens, whilst you
 “ possess nothing that you have not acquired
 “ by arms or injustice? You ask a second
 “ Consulship, as if you had resigned the first
 “ to the Commonwealth. You desire to re-
 “ instate union and concord by war ; who are
 “ the only disturber of it in peace. Traitor to
 “ the party of the Great, which you ought to
 “ defend, perfidious even to those interests
 “ you pretend to support, an enemy to all per-
 “ sons of worth, you know in consequence
 “ neither to respect the Gods nor men, whom you
 “ have made equally your adversaries by your
 “ perfidies and perjury. As this is thy per-
 “ nicious character, go, persist in thy enter-
 “ prize, and continue in arms, instead of giv-
 “ ing us perpetual disquiets, by deferring sedi-

(a) *Pessime omnium at-
 que impudentissime, tibine
 egestas civium & luctus curæ
 sunt, qui nihil est domi, nisi
 armis partum, aut per inju-
 riam? Alterum Consulatum
 petis, quasi primum reddide-
 ris : bello concordiam quæ-
 ris, quo parta disturbatur :
 nostri proditor, illis infidus,
 hostis omnium bonorum, ut
 te neque hominum, neque*

*deorum pudet, quos perfidiâ
 aut perjurio violasti ! Qui
 quando talis es, maneat in
 sententia, & retineas arma,
 te hortor ; neu prolatandis
 seditionibus, inquit ipse, nos
 in sollicitudine retineas. Ne-
 que te provinciæ, neque le-
 ges, neque di Penates civem
 patiuntur. Perge quâ cœ-
 pisti, ut quam maturum
 merita invenias.*

A. R. 6-5. " thou to another time, from which thy tur-
 A. R. 6-7. " bulent spirit does not permit thee to abstain.
 " The provinces, the laws, the Household Gods
 " of our Country, raise their voices against
 " thee. and cannot suffer thee in the number of
 " our fellow-citizens. Continue what you have
 " began, in order that you may soon experi-
 " ence the just punishment you deserve."

Philippus was therefore against any accommo-
 dation with Lepidus, and he concluded in the
 following manner: " As (a) Lepidus is ad-
 " vancing with an army against the city, and
 " has associated himself with the vile enemies
 " of the publick, in contempt of the authority
 " of this Assembly, I am of opinion, that Ap.
 " Claudius, now Interrex, with Q. Catulus the
 " Proconsul, and the rest, who are in com-
 " mand, should defend the city, and take care
 " that the Commonwealth suffers no injury.

*Catulus
 and Pompey
 give
 Lepidus
 leave to
 gain the
 city.*

The opinion of Philippus was followed, and
 the Senate passed a decree against Lepidus,
 which in the form we have just mentioned,
 gave an almost unlimited power to those, who
 were appointed to oppose his enterprizes. Ca-
 tulus accordingly prepared for coming to a bat-
 tle. And as he excelled more in civil virtues,
 than in military knowledge, Pompey was as-
 sociated with him, who had contributed to
 raise Lepidus to the Consulship, but did not
 hesitate to prefer the continuance of the pub-
 lick tranquillity to his particular engagements.

(a) Quare ita censeo, con-
 nam Lepidus exercitum —
 cum pectus sit in re-
 ipublic; contra huius ordi-
 nis auctoritatem, et ad idem
 duct, ut Ap. Claudius Inter-

rex, cum Q. Catulo Procon-
 sule, & ceteris quibus impe-
 rium est, urbi prædio sint,
 opamque dent ne quid
 Respublica detrimenti capiat.

The

The battle was fought under the walls of Rome, near the bridge Mulvius. The victory was not long in suspense : and Lepidus having been defeated without much resistance, retired into Etruria. He was immediately declared an enemy to his country, and Catulus sent in pursuit of him, whilst Pompey went into Cisalpine Gaul, which, as I have said, Brutus held for Lepidus.

It is probable, that Rome took the advantage of the first moment's tranquillity to proceed to the election of Consuls. The choice of the people fell upon Decimus Brutus, and Mamercus Æmilius. The last was very rich ; but he was afraid of expence, and to spare himself that of the games, which was in reality enormous, he had declined the office of Ædile. The People remembered it, when he stood for the Consulship, and refused him the first time. Mamercus did not succeed even this year without considerable difficulty.

D. JUNIUS BRUTUS.

MAMERCUS ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS
LIVIANUS.

Pompey found no difficulty in making Gallia Cisalpina return to its duty. He was only stopped a considerable time before Modena, in which Brutus had shut himself up. At last the affair terminated to the satisfaction of Pompey ; and Brutus surrendered himself to him, either voluntarily, or compelled by the desertions of his troops. The victor's conduct in respect to his prisoner, did him no honour. For after having sent him to Reggio with a guard, the next day he dispatched Geminus to

A. R. 675.
Ant. C. 77.

kill him. And what renders this action still the more inexcusable, was, he had at first wrote to the Senate, that Brutus had surrendered himself freely and of his own accord. But after he had caused him to be killed, he changed his style, and in a second letter much calumniated his memory. This is a blot in Pompey's life: and the famous Brutus, who was the son of him I speak of, did not pardon Pompey his father's death, till he thought himself obliged to do so by views of the publick good.

Plut. in
Brut.

*Lepidus is
defeated a
second time,
and goes
to Sardinia,
where
he dies.*
Jul. Ex-
perant.

In the mean time Catulus kept Lepidus within very narrow bounds; and having driven him into a corner near * Cosa, a maritime city of Hetruria, he reduced him to come to a battle. The army of Lepidus seems to have been considerable both for number and valour, and that it would have been capable under another leader to have found much employment for the contrary party. It fought on the present occasion with vigour, and even had some advantage. But Pompey, who arrived from Cisalpine Gaul, determined the victory in favour of Catulus. Lepidus had no other resource, than to save himself with the remainder of his troops in Sardinia. He succeeded no better in that island: and Valerius Triarius, who was Prætor of it, reduced him to extremities by harrassing him continually, and preventing him from seizing any place. A domestick grief compleated his distress. He was informed, that his wife Apoleja was false to him. To revenge himself he was divorced from her. But as he continued to love her,

Plut. in
Pomp.
Pha. VII.
36.

* *Tk's city was situated near Porto Hercole.*

regret and grief brought an illness upon him, of which he died. Perperna drew together the wreck of the army, that was without a General; and having formed a body of them, that was still numerous, he went to Spain, where Sertorius supported the remains of Marius's party.

A. R. 675.
Ant. C. 77.

Thus ended the troubles excited by Lepidus. The (a) victors contented themselves with having reestablished peace: an extraordinary example of moderation in a civil war. The Senate by a Decree granted an amnesty to those, who had been concerned in the last troubles; and that Decree was supported by another of the People, of which Cæsar was considered almost as the author. Besides the general interest of Marius's faction, of which he never lost sight, his brother in law L. Cinna had been engaged in the party of Lepidus, and by this decree he obtained liberty to return to Rome. The Senate had also its view in the lenity it observed on this occasion. This was to prevent the despair of those fugitives from making them augment the forces of Sertorius, already too formidable of himself. But mild policy is meritorious; and it is but too common for victors to persuade themselves, that cruelty is for their advantage.

Moderation of the victorious party.

Suet. in Cæf. 5.

Of all the branches of Marius's party, none remained, except that of which Sertorius was the chief in Spain, and against which Metellus Pius was actually making war with little success. That General had all the military abilities,

Pompey is sent to Spain against Sertorius. Plut. in Pomp.

(a) Victores, quod non temere aliis in civilibus bellis, pace contenti fuerunt. Flor. lib. 2.

A. R. 675
A. C. 77.

ties, that could be desired : but his * slowness evidently made him incapable of reducing so able and active an enemy as Sertorius. However as his birth, reputation and the high esteem of all men for his virtue, would not admit the affront to be done him of recalling him, the question only was to give him a Colleague, who with a reinforcement of troops, might also be of a character to supply what was wanting in Metellus on the side of activity. Pompey was ambitious of this employment ; and in consequence instead of dismissing his troops, as Catulus ordered him, he kept them assembled under various pretexts, at a small distance from Rome. He was indeed the only one at that time, in whom the Senate could repose confidence for so difficult and important a command. It was accordingly resolved at last to order him to set out for Spain with the title of Proconsul. This did not pass without difficulty : and (a) some Senators represented, that it was very strange for a Roman Knight to be invested with the rank and authority of a Proconsul. *He must not be sent, said Philippus, merely as a Proconsul, but as supplying the place of both Consuls at once : a saying no less honourable for Pompey, than injurious to the Consuls actually in office.*

* *Pompey is often called the Strongest of Men in his age. But this General was then only 30 years old, and in the year 67, when he arrived under the walls of Narbonne, he was only 20 years old as was observed in his place.*

(a) *Quam esset nonnemo in veritate qui diceret, non debet mitti in rem publicam pro Consule, L. Philippus dixit sic dicere, non se illam rem, sed i pro Consule, id est pro Consulibus nomine. Cic. pro Lege Man. c. 12.*

But

But before we relate what Pompey did in this new command, it is necessary to resume our account of the adventures and exploits of Sertorius from the time of his departure from Italy. We shall see therein a man always struggling with advantage against bad fortune implacable in persecuting him, and worthy of being ranked in the number of the greatest ornaments of Rome, though his ill fortune reduced him to become its enemy.

I have said, that Sertorius, immediately after Sylla had debauched the Consul Scipio's army, despairing of the success of a war, carried on by Generals, whose incapacity he well knew, had retired into Spain, which province had fallen to him by lot after his Prætorship. It was not without difficulty, that he entered it. He found the passes of the Pyrenees occupied by Barbarians, whom only money could render tractable. Those who attended him thought it a disgrace for a Proconsul of the Roman People to pay a kind of tribute or toll for passage to wretched Mountaineers*. But Sertorius, than whom no man knew better to support his rank when it was necessary, laughed on this occasion at that ill-timed haughtiness, and saying, "that he would buy time, which of all things is the most precious to those who have great matters in view," he gave the Barbarians money, passed the mountains, and by his expedition saw himself master of Spain.

As he determined to strengthen, and to make himself a solid establishment there, he spared no pains to conciliate the good-will of the natives

* The Robbers, that infest the Pyrenean mountains, are now called Miquelets.

A. R. 675.
Ant. C. 77.
History of the war with Sertorius, traced down from its origin.

Sertorius sets out from Italy, and goes to Spain. Plur. in Sertor.

He strengthens himself there, and particularly gains the affection of the several States.

A. R. 675.
Ann. C. 77.

A. R. 675. of the country. The avidity and oppressions
A.D. C. 17. of the last Prætors had inspired them with an
aversion for the Roman government. Sertorius
engaged the principal persons and chiefs of dif-
ferent countries by the affability and kindness
of his behaviour, and the multitude by the re-
duction of taxes. But what charmed the
Spaniards in a particular degree, was his ex-
empting them from quartering soldiers, oblig-
ing the troops under his command to build
themselves barracks in the neighbourhood of
the cities, and taking up his own quarters first
in them himself. At the same time he armed
all the Romans he found in Spain of age to
serve : he caused both machines of all kinds,
and gallies of three benches of oars to be built ;
thus shewing himself no less terrible in the
preparations of war, than mild and humane in
civil government.

Annals
 of the
 Society,
 1850
 S. 1. 1.
 1851
 to 1852
 1852.

He had reason to use precaution and to make great preparations of war. For as soon as the party of Carbo and Marius was destroyed, as he had rightly foreseen, and Sylla had made himself master of the Commonwealth, Annius was sent from Rome to make war against him. He knew, that it was of the last importance to shut up the passes of the Pyrenees, and he caused them to be seized by Livius Salinator, who had six thousand infantry under him. Annius in consequence was stopt at the foot of the mountains, and would have been extremely embarrassed, had not treason come in to his aid. One Calpurnius Lanarius assassinated Salinator; the troops having lost their chief disbanded; and Annius then passing the defiles, forced Sertorius, who was not in a condition

dition to keep the field, to shut himself up in Carthageria, with three thousand men. He stayed there only till he had embarked his followers in ships, he had caused to be built, and made off to sea. He cruized some time upon the coasts of Spain and Africa, and attempted to make descents in different places, but always with bad success. At length having added some small ships of the Cilician Pirates to his fleet, he passed the Straits, and landed a little beyond the mouth of the Bætis, now called *Guadalquivir*.

When he was in that place, some navigators newly arrived from the Atlantic or fortunate islands, gave him such a description of them as charmed him. They told him that their climate was mild; that seldom even gentle * rains fell in them, but that the earth was refreshed there by the sea breezes, which dispersed a grateful dew; that the soil was so fertile, that it not only repaid the pains of cultivation with abundant usury, but that it produced fruits of itself without labour, which by their multitude and goodness sufficed for the nourishment of a great number of inhabitants: in a word, that it was there, according to the general opinion of the Barbarians themselves, that the Elysian fields celebrated by Homer were situated.

The description given us by Horace of the same islands agrees perfectly with what we have

* So Plutarch expresses himself. Our modern observers affirm, that it never rains in the flat country of the Canaries. See Nieuventyt, *Of the Existence of God*, I. II. c. 4.

A.R. 675. just taken from Plutarch. " (a) In this for-
 tunate abode, says that Poet, the earth with-
 out culture brings forth rich harvests every
 year: the vine flourishes without pruning:
 the olive tree never deceives the hopes its first
 buds have given: and the figtree is per-
 petually adorned with ripe fruits, whose pur-
 ple charms the eye. Honey flows here
 from the hollow oak, and from the moun-
 tain tops fall rivulets of clear water in abun-
 dance, that murmur as they flow in cascades.
 The goats and ewes come here of them-
 selves to offer their dugs distended with
 milk. Bears neither growl around the night-
 ly folds, terrifying them with their cries,
 nor do vipers swell the earth with their
 nests. When we shall inhabit this charming
 abode, adds he, we shall find new wonders
 to admire. We shall be surprized, that no
 wind brings those violent rains, that break

Arva, beata
 Pecunia arva, divites & insulas,
 Redit ubi crescit tellus inarata quoniam is,
 Et impetata floret utique vinea,
 Germinat & nunquam talentis terras olivæ,
 Summæque poma hinc ornat arborem.
 Nulla cave mirant ex ilice; montibus albis.
 Levæ crepante lymphæ densat pede.
 Hic in hæc veniunt ad molera capellæ,
 Retentæq; tenta grex arvens ebena:
 Nec repertinus circumgemit ursus orne,
 Neque intumescit alta viperis humer.
 Placque felices mirabimur: ut neque largis
 Aquas Euræ arva radat imbrices;
 Pinguia nec siccis urantur semina glebis,
 Utrumque Rege temperante cœlum
 Nulla nocent pecori contagia: nullius auri
 Gregem æstuosa torret impotentia.
 Jupiter illa piæ sepevit littora genti.

Hor. Epod. 16.

" the

“ the rich soil ; and that excessive heats never
 “ burn up the grain in the ear. The King
 “ of heaven is watchful over this favourite
 “ land to preserve its mild and temperate
 “ state. The diseases, that suddenly sweep off
 “ whole flocks and herds, are unknown here :
 “ the cattle are safe from the malignant influ-
 “ ences diffused elsewhere by burning fairs.
 “ Jupiter has separated these countries to be
 “ the asylum of virtue.”

A. R. 675.
 Ant. C. 77.

In this manner Horace speaks, inviting the Romans to retire to these happy regions, to avoid the horrors of civil wars. But what was only the play of fancy in the Poet, Sertorius had serious thoughts of putting in execution. They painted these islands (which by the consent of almost all Geographers are no other than the Canaries, a country really agreeable and delicious, but much embellished by the fictions of the ancient travellers and Poets) as an enchanting abode. As he was naturally mild, an enemy to injustice and violence, and not soured by his misfortunes, but disgusted with mankind, he conceived the design of going to these rich countries, to pass his life in happiness and innocence, far from the din of war, and the horrors of tyranny. He proposed this to his followers. Such morality did not suit Pirates. They quitted him, and went to Mauritania, where having found two parties at war with each other, they offered their services to one of them.

Sertorius, who was afraid of being abandon-
 ed by his remaining friends and troops, did
 the same, and attached himself to the other
 party, which he easily rendered victorious. Be-
 ing become master of the country by the taking
 of

*He goes to
Africa.*

A. R. 6-5. of * Tingis, he did not deceive those, who had
 A. R. C. 77. reposed confidence in him, and having restored
 *Tangie. all that belonged to them, cities, territory, riches, he accepted only a just recompence, by the means of which he was enabled to subsist the small body of troops, that were his sole resource, for some time.

He is invited by the Lusitanians to put himself at their head. But this was only a transient aid, that did not extricate Sertorius out of difficulty; and he was in great pain about the event of his affairs, when he very opportunely received an embassy from the Lusitanians, which came to desire him to put himself at their head. That People still defended their liberty against the Romans; and finding themselves very much pressed at that time, in effect of the great reputation Sertorius had acquired in Spain, during the short time he had appeared there, they had recourse to him, as to the only General that could save them.

Great qualities of Sertorius. They were not mistaken. Sertorius was really a great man, incapable of suffering himself either to be enervated by pleasures, or swayed by fear; alike intrepid in dangers, and moderate in good fortune. None of the Generals of his time surpassed him for boldness in actions in the open field, nor equalled him for all that relates to stratagem, ability for assuming superiority by the advantage of posts, and expedition in passing the defiles of mountains. In this last respect he was another Hannibal: and the Spaniards, amongst whom the glory of the Carthaginian General was not yet forgot, gave his name to Sertorius, who conceived it with reason much for his honour. He also knew perfectly how to give the proper bent of mind

Appian. C. vil. l. I.

Plot. in Sertor.

to his soldiers, liberally rewarding actions of bravery, and punishing faults only with regret, and as slightly as possible. A. R. 675.
Ant. C. 77.

The qualities of the body answered those of the mind in Sertorius. He had naturally abundance of strength and agility, which he took care to keep up by a simple and frugal life. He never gave into excesses of wine, even in his most vacant hours; and on the contrary, was accustomed to support the greatest fatigues, long marches, and continual watching, with the most simple nourishment, and that in small quantity. If he had some moments of leisure, he used to divert himself in hunting, which was not without its use to him in war; because he thereby acquired a perfect knowledge of the advantage of places.

Such was the General, whom the Lusitanians had the good fortune to find in their emergency, and under whom they did prodigies. *Idea of
his ex-
ploits in
Spain.* Sertorius set out from Africa with two thousand six hundred men, whom he called Romans, and seven hundred Africans of different nations. The Lusitanians supplied him with four thousand light-armed foot, and seven hundred horse. With this small body of forces Sertorius made war against four Roman Generals, who had under them an hundred and twenty thousand foot, and six thousand horse, two thousand bowmen and slingers, and an infinite number of cities; whilst he, at his arrival, had scarce twenty that acknowledged him. However he beat them on every occasion, and either in his own person, or by his Quæstor Hirtuleius, who was a very brave man, gained such great advantages, that he augmented his power prodigiously,

A. R. 65. digiously, and subjected the greatest part of
 Ant. C. 77. Spain to his command.

Metellus Metellus Pius is the most illustrious of the
Pius for captains, who were at first opposed against
against Sertorius. But he was slow, as we have said;
him on besides which having always commanded heavy-
parties armed troops, such as fought in line of battle,
extreme he did not know what conduct to observe in
diff. L. 11. respect to an enemy that avoided a general
 action, but returned in every kind of form;
 who came on to attack him when he expected
 nothing so little, and then retreated with ex-
 pedition; and whose soldiers, accustomed to
 live on little, to bear hunger and cold, and
 to climb mountains, left the troops, who acted
 against them, no repose, nor any room for
 advantage. From thence it happened, that
 Metellus without fighting suffered all that at-
 tends defeat, and Sertorius in flying had all the
 advantages of those who pursue their enemies.
 He prevented them from getting water, and
 harassed them in foraging. If they advanced,
 they found Sertorius in their way; if they
 halted any where, he came on to attack them.
 If they besieged a city, they were besieged
 themselves by famine: so that they were en-
 tirely disgusted and discouraged; and Sertorius
 having challenged Metellus to a single combat,
 the soldiers of the latter pressed him with re-
 doubled cries to accept the defiance, and to
 fight General against General, Roman against
 Roman; and on his refusal, they turned him
 into ridicule. But Metellus had no regard to
 their insults; knowing that a General should
 die as became a General, and not as an ad-
 venturer.

He

He was however for retrieving his reputation by besieging the city of the * Lacobri-^{A. R. 675. Ant. C. 77. He under-} censes. This had been an important conquest, ^{takes a} because Sertorius received great aid from it: ^{siege.} and at the same time it seemed easy, because there was but one well in the city: the other waters used by the inhabitants, were in the suburbs, and fell immediately into the hands of the besiegers. Metellus in consequence expected this would be an affair of two days; and he made the soldiers carry with them provisions only for five days.

But Sertorius well knew how to break his ^{Which} measures. He ordered two thousand skins ^{Sertorius} (*borachios*) to be filled with water, promising ^{obliges him} a considerable reward to the carrier of each ^{to raise.} skin: the soldiers were all competitors for this office. He chose the most robust and active of those, who offered themselves, Moors and Spaniards, and sent them through the defiles of the mountains, with orders, when they should have delivered their skins to the besieged, to turn out all the useless mouths, in order that the provision of water might suffice for those, that were capable of bearing arms. When Metellus was informed that this supply had been introduced into the place, he was in great pain: for he began to be in want of provisions himself. In consequence he sent a General officer with six thousand men, to collect and bring to the camp all the provisions he should find in the adjacent parts. Sertorius, always upon the watch, laid an ambuscade upon the way that officer was to return with

* This City was in the country now called Old Castile, on the North of the Douro.

A. R. 675.
Ant. C. 77.

his troops: he attacked them himself in front, and in that manner furrounding them in front and rear, he killed them abundance of People, took the convoy, and forced the commander to fly, after having lost his arms and horse. Metellus had no other choice to make, than to raise the siege shamefully, and to call in L. Manilius to his aid, who commanded in Gallia Narbonnensis. The latter succeeded still worse. He was beat out of the field with the three legions he had brought with him: and was reduced to save himself almost alone in * Ilerda. This last victory opened Gaul to Sertorius. He made it submit to his laws; and pushed on quite to the Alps, in the passes of which he posted guards, either to stop the troops, that might be sent from Italy against him, or perhaps to carry the war thither, if fortune continued favourable to him.

Great success of Sertorius.

* Now Lerida.
Epist. Pomp. ad Sen. l. II Hist. Salust.

Plot. in Sertor.

His abilities in governing the Barbarians.

It is easy to judge what admiration such successes drew upon Sertorius from the Spaniards. He united with this all the ability of a refined and artful politician, to gain an ascendant over them, and to make himself absolutely master of their hearts. And first, knowing how much the marvellous strikes, especially with Barbarians, he endeavoured to make himself pass for an extraordinary person, and one who corresponded with the gods; an artifice which interest and utility cannot justify, because sincerity condemns it. Accordingly we pretend to give it only as a proof of Sertorius's address, and not as an example to be followed.

His skill in taming his horse.

Every body has heard of Sertorius's hind. It was milk white; and as it had been given him very soon after it had been dropt; he tamed it so well, that it knew his voice, and came to

to him when he called it, followed him every where, and was accustomed not to be frightened by noises and tumult of a camp. He had no other view at first in caressing this animal, than to amuse himself. But when he saw it so docile, he conceived, that it might be of great utility to him. He gave out that it was a present from Diana, and that his Hind often revealed to him the most secret things. And to confirm this opinion, he took the following method. If he had received secret advice of any incursion of the enemy, or of some enterprize they were forming against a city, subject to him, he pretended, that the Hind had advised him in his sleep to keep his troops in readiness to march on that side. Or if he had been informed, that some one of his Lieutenants had gained a victory, he concealed the courier, and made the Hind appear with a crown on its head, as a sign of good news : and he exhorted the Spaniards to rejoice and sacrifice to the gods, assuring them, that they would soon receive advice of some great Success. By this stratagem, he made those people so much devoted to his orders, that they gave ear to him, as if the gods themselves had spoke by his mouth.

This was only a comedy, which however procured Sertorius the most serious advantages. But farther, he had the address to attach these Barbarians more to him by arming them after the Roman manner, by making them sensible of the advantage of an exact discipline, accustoming them to keep the order of battle, and to wait the signal and commands of their officers : so that retrenching from their valour its fierceness and brutality, of a great body of robbers, he formed an army. Besides which he supplied them

A. R. 675.
Ant. C. 77.

He disciplines and gives laws to the Spaniards.

A. R. 675.
A. C. 70.

with the means of equipping themselves magnificently : he made their helmets, bucklers, and cuirasses glitter with silver and gold : he gave them tunicks and furtouts of the richest stuffs. All this charmed these nations, who had never known any kind of life, but that almost of savages, and the grossest accoutrements.

*He takes
care of the
education
of the chil-
dren of the
principal
families.*

* Hueflea
in Arra-
gor.

But nothing contributed more to gaining him the hearts, especially of the principal persons of the nation, than the care he took of the education of their children. For he drew together all those of the greatest birth in * Osca, a very considerable city in those days ; and gave them masters to instruct them in the Arts of the Greeks and Romans. They were in reality hostages, but he shewed no other design, than to make them capable, when they should be of age, of holding employments, and of sharing in the government. The fathers in consequence were charmed to see on one side their children with robes bordered with purple, going modestly and in good order to the public schools, and on the other Sertorius, who paid their masters, frequently inspecting into their progress in person, giving rewards to such as had deserved, and making them wear the golden ornament (*Bulla*) hanging at their breasts, as was commonly done by the children of condition amongst the Romans.

*Incredible
attachment
of the
Spaniards
to him.*

He was rewarded for so wise a conduct by an incredible attachment of the Spaniards for his person, which rose almost to adoration. It was a custom with those nations, as well as with the Gauls and Germans, for every Lord to have a great number of clients or vassals, who devoted their lives and deaths to his service, and took an oath not to survive him, and to incur any dan-
ger

ger in his defence. Other chiefs had a small number of men, that adhered to them under the same conditions. But as to Sertorius, his adherents of this kind were computed by thousands. And on occasion, wherein he had been defeated, it is said, that the Spaniards solely intent upon preserving him, took him upon their shoulders, to raise him in that manner to the top of the walls of the city, near which they were; and neglected their own security, till they had seen him safe.

It is extremely remarkable in this place, that Sertorius, so tenderly beloved by the Spaniards, retained however to the Romans all the superiority that belonged to them, and all the rights of the sovereign power. He had formed a Senate composed of the proscribed Senators, who had retired to him, and of the principal persons of his other partisans to the number of three hundred. He pretended, that this was the real Roman Senate; terming that which was at Rome an assembly of Sylla's slaves. It was out of this Senate, that he chose Quæstors, Lieutenant Generals, and other Commanders; imitating as much as possible the government of the commonwealth. In consequence no Spaniard had any command in his armies; and his design was not to strengthen the Barbarians against Rome, but to make use of their forces for re-establishing the Roman Liberty. For he loved his country, and passionately desired to return to it. He frequently took measures for obtaining permission to do so. But that was not, whilst he was in misfortunes. He then resumed his virtue in all its force, and acted with haughtiness in respect to the enemy. Afterwards, when he had gained some advantage, he

A. R. 675.
Ant. C. 77.

He reserves all the rights of Sovereignty to the Romans.
Appian.
Plut.

His love for his country.

A. R. 675.
AUL. C. 77.

*His love
for his
mother.*

offered to lay down his arms, provided he might be suffered to live as a private person at home; declaring that he chose rather to be the most obscure citizen of Rome, than to command the Universe in banishment from his country.

Such noble sentiments were supported in him by another no less estimable: I mean tenderness for his mother. She had become a widow very early, and had trained him up in his infancy with great care. Sertorius was full of gratitude and affection for her; and it was the desire of seeing her, that chiefly inspired him with so ardent a passion for returning to Rome: and when he received the news of her death, he was so afflicted with it, that he passed seven days without appearing, or giving any orders, till on the representations of his friends, that his affairs suffered extremely in the effect, he was persuaded to resume his usual functions. Who can refrain from lamenting, that so noble, so excellent a man, and one so little formed to be the enemy of his country, should have been forced by the enmity of those who persecuted him, to have recourse to civil war, as the only means for preserving his person and life.

*Perperna's
too p. force
their lea-
der to join
Sertorius.*

With such great qualities, and an heart so truly Roman, it is no wonder that Sertorius was admired and beloved by the Romans, who were in Spain, as much as by the Spaniards. Those who came from Sardinia with Perperna, are a great proof of this. Perperna, who was of a Consular family, and very rich, despised Sertorius, whose birth was obscure: and at the same time he was jealous of his glory, to which he was conscious he could not attain, and with reason apprehended, he should be eclipsed by him, if he joined him. He was therefore for
forming

forming a distinct party, and actually continued separate from Sertorius, till advice came, that Pompey was sent into Spain. His troops then declared to him, that if he did not lead them to Sertorius, they would join that General without him. In consequence he came by force with fifty three cohorts, which, if they were compleat, amounted to above five and twenty thousand men. But his bad disposition alone did more hurt to the common cause, than the strong reinforcement he brought with him did good.

Before Pompey's arrival, Plutarch relates two other circumstances, which are highly proper to shew his ability, and genius for resources.

The Barbarians, flushed by their successes, were for coming to a battle in the open field, and could not bear the present delays of their General, who was for waiting favourable occasions. He was at first for persuading them by mild discourse and proper representations. But seeing, that these had no effect, and that they were but exasperated, and demanded to fight with great cries, he determined to let them receive a lesson from the enemy, that might render them more wise and docile. The thing happened as he had foreseen. The Spaniards were worsted in the engagement; and they would have been entirely cut to pieces, if Sertorius had not contrived a retreat for them, which he conducted so well, that he brought them back safe into his camp.

Discouragement, as usually happens, was upon the point of succeeding their presumption and confidence. Sertorius, to obviate that inconvenience, and to give them a just sense of the reasons of the conduct he conceiv-

A. R. 675.
Ant. C. 77.

ed best, thought proper to catch their eyes with a sight, that has something comical in it, but was well imagined to instruct Barbarians. He assembled them, and caused two horses to be placed in the midst, the one lean and old, and the other fat and full of vigour, and which had in particular a tail abounding with fine and long hairs. By the lean horse stood a strong robust man; near the other in good plight, a little puny fellow. Upon a signal given, these two men began to go to work in the following manner. The strong one grasped the tail of his horse, and plucked it with all his force: the weak man pulled out the hairs of his horse's tail, one after another. It was evident that the first only fatigued himself in vain, and disposed the assembly to laugh. He was soon forced to give out; and the second had finished his work in a very short time. Sertorius then broke silence: "You see, said he, my dear Allies, how much perseverance is more efficacious than force; and in what manner those great bodies, which it is not possible to overcome by single attacks, give way to those, who have the address to take them part by part. Perseverance effects every thing: time destroys the greatest powers, and shews itself the good and faithful ally of those, who wait with prudence the occasion for acting; whereas it is the mortal enemy of such, as precipitate things without reason and at wrong conjunctures."

*He submits
the Characitani by
an ingenious
stratagem.*

The other circumstance, which we have to relate of Sertorius, is no less ingenious. It is a stratagem, which he conceived for subduing the Characitani, a people situated on the north of

of the Tagus, and, as is believed, near the little river Henares. That People inhabited neither cities nor towns. They occupied an eminence of considerable extent, and very high, which had a great number of caves and hollows fronting the north. The country, which lies at the bottom of the hill, is only a kind of clayey crumbling dirt, and easily turns to dust; so that it affords no solid footing, and upon being trampled a little, it rises and spreads like lime or ashes. These People, considering themselves in consequence as not to be attacked, made incursions with impunity into the neighbouring countries, and then carried back the booty into their caverns, from whence they insulted their enemies. Sertorius being now at leisure, because Metellus was removed, he resolved to reduce these robbers; and in order to that, took the following method.

He observed, that the earth of itself formed a thin dust, which the wind drove towards the Barbarians. For the north wind, which prevails much in this district, blows there even during the summer, as it was then: and the Characitani received it greedily, to refresh them and their cattle. Sertorius therefore ordered his soldiers to take as much of this crumbling earth as they could, and to raise a great mount of it exactly facing the hill. The Barbarians, who believed, that their design was to erect a terras in order to attack them, at first laughed at the work. But the next morning their tone was much changed, when they saw, that the little wind which rose with the sun, drove with it a great quantity of dust. It was still much worse, when the wind becoming more violent, formed very thick clouds of dust, which the
troops

A. R. 675.
Ant. C. 77.

troops of Sertorius took care to increase, both by stirring the earth, and passing to and fro on horseback upon the heap they had thrown up. The caves of the Barbarians were soon so full of this dust, that they were blinded and choaked with it, respiring only an air extremely abounding with earthly particles. For their caves had no other openings, than those that aspected the north. They however stood their ground two days, but on the third were obliged to surrender, and thereby did not so much augment the forces as the glory of Sertorius, whose address triumphed, where arms could not possibly have prevailed.

*Pompey
arrives in
Spain.
Epit.
Pomp.*

*Plct. in
Pomp. &
Sertor.*

That General was in consequence at the highest point of glory, and in his greatest prosperity, when Pompey was sent against him. The latter had at first the passes of the Alps to clear, which were shut up by the troops of Sertorius, and he even made himself a different and more commodious rout across those mountains than that of Hannibal. He continued his march through Gallia Narbonensis, and retook all the posts in it, occupied by the enemy. At length having passed the Pyrenees, he filled all Spain with great expectations. As his name was very famous for many victories, to which his youth gave still more lustre, people were prejudiced in his favour: it was believed, that a revolution was upon the point of taking place; and the fidelity of those, that adhered to Sertorius, began to waver. But Pompey was no sooner come to blows with that artful Captain, than the success not answering the public opinion, Sertorius re-established himself, and acquired new reputation, both in Spain and at Rome itself.

The

The event I am speaking of passed near the city of * Laurona, which Sertorius was then besieging. Pompey approached it with design to succour the place, and to raise the siege. Having observed a hill, which might give the besiegers a great advantage, he designed to seize it : but Sertorius prevented him, and occupied the post. Pompey remained behind, and was not sorry for the adventure, imagining, that he had shut up the enemy between the city and his army. He even boasted it, and bade the Laconites indulge the satisfaction of seeing from their walls the besiegers besieged. Sertorius having been apprized of this, only laughed, and said, *that he would teach Sylla's scholar, so he called Pompey, that a General ought to look more behind than before him.* And accordingly he had left in the camp, from whence he set out to seize the eminence, six thousand good troops, that kept Pompey in awe, and would not admit him to attack Sertorius, without exposing himself to the danger of having the enemy at the same time in his front and rear. The young General perceived too late, that he had been too hasty in his boast, and found himself highly embarrassed, not daring to give the enemy battle, and being ashamed to abandon those he came to aid.

The bad success of a forage he had undertaken, compleatly disconcerted him. For his foragers having fallen into an ambuscade, that Sertorius had judiciously laid for them, the loss was very great, because a legion, that came to the aid of those foragers, was itself surrounded,

A. R. 675.
Ant. C. 77.
He receives a check before the city of Laurona.

* This city is believed not to have been far from Valencia.
and

284 OCTAVIUS, SCRIBONIUS, Consuls.

A. R. 675. and perished almost entirely with its com-
 Ant. C. 77. mander.

Plut. The besieged seeing in consequence, that they had nothing to hope, surrendered at discretion : and Sertorius sparing the lives of the inhabitants, however caused their city to be burnt, not out of cruelty (no General was ever more remote from that) but to cover both Pompey, and those who so much admired him, with shame ; and that it might be said throughout Spain, that a city he had pretended to succour, had been burnt before his eyes, and so near him, that he might almost have warmed himself by the fire that consumed the walls.

At the taking of Laurona, Sertorius did an action of justice, that ought to do him honour. For having been informed, that a soldier had abused a woman, who was his prisoner, in a brutal manner, who to revenge herself had even tore out his eyes, he not only ordered the criminal to be executed ; but knowing, that the whole company practised the like excesses, he caused them all to be put to death, though they were Romans.

Thus ended this campaign. Both armies went into winter-quarters. Pompey and Metellus passed theirs in the Pyrenees under tents, in the midst of a great number of enemies, that harraſſed them. Sertorius, accompanied by Perperna, retired into Lusitania.

CN. OCTAVIUS.

A. R. 675.
 Ant. C. 77.

C. SCRIBONIUS CURIO.

The armies take
 the field
 again.

With the spring the operations of the war were renewed : and it appears, as far as is to be

be judged from the monuments of the history of those times come down to us, that the two armies did not unite all their forces, but divided them, so that Hirtulejus, that brave Questor of Sertorius, of whom I have spoke above, remained in † Boetica to oppose Metellus, and Sertorius marched towards the country now called *the kingdom of Valencia*.

A. R. 676.
Ant. C. 76.

† Andalusia.

Hirtulejus was a man of great courage, but was not equal to his General in ability. Metellus took his advantages with judgment, and gained a battle over him, for which he was indebted entirely to the wisdom of his conduct. For the armies having met near the city called * Italica, and Hirtulejus having made his soldiers quit their intrenchments at sun-rise to offer the enemy battle, Metellus let him sustain the heat of the day, which was excessive, till noon. He then came out of his camp with his troops, who having refreshed themselves with eating, and being well reposed, had from thence alone a great superiority over soldiers, whom hunger, weariness, and heat had extremely fatigued. Besides which, knowing that the enemy's best troops were in the centre, he made his wings advance considerably, whilst his main body continued behind: by this means the two wings of Hirtulejus's army, being easily defeated, he attacked the centre on three sides at once. There the battle was very hot, and the Generals spared themselves so little that Metellus received a dart in his armour, and Hirtulejus one in the arm. But at last the latter was obliged to fly, leaving twenty thousand of his men on the spot. And some time

Metellus
gains a
great vic-
tory over
Hirtulejus.
Oros. V.
23.
Frontin.
II. 1 & 3.

* Sevilla veja upon the Guadalquivir, not far from Seville.
after,

A. R. 675.
Ant. C. 75.

after, undoubtedly with design to retrieve his honour on another occasion, he was killed with his brother.

Frontin.
ll. 7.

This was a great loss for Sertorius: and, it is said, that he killed the Barbarian, who brought him the news of it with his own hand; because being upon the point of giving battle, he was afraid that the report might be spread at that critical time, and discourage his soldiers.

Plot.

Besides which he was admirable at finding resources in his misfortunes: and always maintaining himself invincible, when he commanded in person, he knew how to remedy the effects of the defeats of his Lieutenants with so much ability, that he frequently acquired more glory from them than the victors themselves.

Battle of
Sertorius
between
Sertorius
and Pompey

He well demonstrated near * Sucrona, that the defeat of Hirtulejus had not abated his courage. Pompey having defeated Herennius and Perperna near Valentia, marched in quest of Sertorius. Both of them were desirous of coming to a battle, before Metellus, who was marching from Boetica, should arrive; the one to have fewer enemies upon his hands, and the other not to share the glory of the success he hoped with a Colleague. The action began but in the evening: For Sertorius was for waiting till towards the end of the day, because, as the enemy were not well acquainted with the country, the night could not but be equally to their disadvantage, whether they should be reduced to fly, or it should be necessary to pursue.

In this battle Sertorius, who had posted himself on his right wing, was not at first opposed

* A city, named many ages ago, which was at the mouth of the Xucar.

to Pompey, but to Afranius; and he had already the advantage, when he received advice, that his left made but a bad defence against the efforts of Pompey. He flew thither, and having found a part of his troops flying, and the other making but a weak resistance, he re-animated them all, and soon gave a new face to things. Flight and terror had now changed sides; and Pompey's person itself was in the greatest danger. For though on horseback he was attacked by one on foot, but of a great stature, and the blows they gave each other were so rude, that Pompey cut off his enemy's arm, and was wounded himself. The first danger did not disengage him, and a troop of Libyans having fallen upon him, he was upon the point of being either killed or taken. But he quitted his horse to them, which was richly caparisoned; and whilst the Barbarians were contending for the spoils of the horse, Pompey escaped.

A. R. 676.
Ant. C. 76.

Victory seemed here to be attached to the person of Sertorius. As soon as he had been obliged to abandon his right, it gave way; and Afranius having entirely defeated it, pushed on to the enemies camp, which his soldiers began to plunder. At that instant Sertorius arrived victorious, and killed a great number of the plunderers, who retired in disorder.

Thus ended the battle of Sucrona with almost equal advantage on both sides, as one wing of each army was victorious, and one defeated. But Sertorius evidently had all the honour of the day, as he had defeated the enemy, wherever he acted in person.

He prepared for a new engagement the next day; but was apprised, that Metellus had joined

*Saying of
Sertorius
on Metellus
and Pom-
pey.*

A. R. 676.
Ant. C. 76.

ed Pompey. That junction made him change his opinion. He was afraid, that he should not be able to oppose the two armies united, and retired saying, with that air of superiority and insult he always retained in respect to Pompey : *If that old man had not happened to come, I would have sent that boy back to Rome well corrected as he deserves.* He dismissed his troops, not without taking the precaution to assign them a rendezvous for their reassembling. For that was his method ; and the Barbarians were so well accustomed to it, that sometimes Sertorius was in the mountains almost alone ; and soon after his army reuniting on a sudden in one body, like a torrent formed by the melting of the snows, he saw himself at the head of an hundred and fifty thousand men.

*Sertorius's
Hind lost
and found
again.*

But he was at this time under great concern. In the tumult of the last battle, and the plundering of the camp, his Hind was lost. This was wanting an aid of great import to him in governing the Barbarians. Happily some of his people met her in a wood, and knowing her by her colour, they brought her back to their General. He promised them a great reward, if they kept the thing secret ; and having caused her to be hid for some days, one morning he put on a gay air, and told the chiefs of the Spaniards who were with him, that he had had a dream in the night, that foretold him from the gods some happy event. He afterwards, according to custom, gave audience to those, who had business with him. The Hind was on a sudden let go, and seeing Sertorius, she came skipping to him, and laying her head upon her knees, licked his right hand, which he

he held out to her. Sertorius caressing her on his side, and even shedding some tears, the Barbarians were at first much surprised; then with a thousand cries of joy and applause, they attended him home, as a divine person beloved by the gods.

In the mean time Metellus and Pompey having joined, resolved to march in quest of the enemy, to attack him with all their forces. Those two Generals acted in perfect concert, which merits the imitation of all in the same case. When Metellus arrived, Pompey was for lowering his fasces before him, to signify, that he considered him as his superior, and not as his equal. Metellus opposed it; and assuming nothing either from his years or the honours, through which he had passed, he always treated Pompey as his Colleague, except when they incamped together, and then Metellus only gave the word. Pompey on his side paid a voluntary compliance to his opinions. And when they came in view of Sertorius, whom they were for forcing to a battle, and who carefully avoided it, one day Metellus remarking incredible ardour in the Spaniards, who according to the custom of Barbarians, more vehement than civilized Nations, because more prompted by the impressions of simple nature, shewed their eagerness for coming to blows by shaking their lances, raising their arms, and other the like gestures; Metellus made Pompey observe them, and represented to him, that this was not a proper time for attacking the enemy. Pompey agreed in opinion; and with their common consent they retired into their camp.

A. R. 676.
Ant. C. 76.

Good understanding between Metellus and Pompey.

A. R. 66.

Ant. C. 76.

*General**battle be-**tween Ser-**torius on**one side,**and Pom-**pey and**Metellus**on the**other.*

Sertorius was at length reduced to come to a general action, which he had long avoided. He had contented himself with sending out parties, that cut off provisions, took convoys, and reduced the two Generals to extreme difficulties. They therefore resolved to extend themselves with all their troops in a country, where they might commodiously have provisions and forage: and Sertorius, who was for preventing them, had no other means, but coming to a battle. The armies met near * Segontia, and fought with great fury. The action continued from noon till after sun set. Sertorius had again the advantage over Pompey, who in this engagement lost Memmius, his Questor, and the bravest officer in his army. But Perperna, who commanded the left wing, not being able to resist Metellus, and being almost entirely defeated, Sertorius was obliged to quit Pompey, in order to assist his forces. On his arrival he made a great slaughter of the enemy, and penetrated quite to Metellus, who on this occasion fought with all the vigour, that could have been expected from a young man. He was even wounded: but that very circumstance gave him the victory. For his soldiers seeing their General bleeding whom they honoured and loved, were so animated by their grief and rage, that it was impossible for the Spaniards to sustain their efforts; and Sertorius failed of the victory, when he believed it almost inevitable.

Sertorius
dismisses
his troops,
who re-
assemble
soon after.

In consequence he had recourse to his usual practice, and having ordered his Barbarians to disband, he shut himself up with a small num-

* Siguenca, near the source of the Henares.

ber of brave troops in a strong city capable of making a long defence, to amuse the enemy round him, and in the mean time to give the Spaniards time to fly at their ease, and afterwards to reassemble. The thing was executed according to his plan ; and when he was advised, that a sufficient body of an army was formed for taking the field, he sallied ; and having easily opened himself a way through the enemy, he put himself at the head of the troops, who expected him ; leaving Metellus to make vain trophies of the victory he arrogated to himself.

For that General, who affected to despise Sertorius, and treated him in his discourse as the *fugitive of Sylla*, and as one *escaped Carbo's shipwreck*, was however so proud of having defeated him, that he caused himself to be proclaimed *Imperator* by his soldiers, and on that account suffered divine honours to be paid him by the cities, through which he passed, and which received him with erecting altars and offering him sacrifices. Superb entries were made for him every where, with an astonishing concourse of people of all ages and sexes, who filled the streets even to the tops of the houses. And when it was perceived, that he was pleased with this pomp, and that it was making court to him with success, they vied with each other in giving him magnificent feasts. They adorned the halls where he was to be received like the temples of the gods, and perfumed waters were diffused, and incence burnt in them : on the other side, theatres were erected for representing Comedies, which, as every body knows, made a part in the celebration of feasts with the superstitious Ancients.

A. R. 676.
Ant. C. 76.

Immoderate joy of Metellus on his pretended victory over Sertorius. Pomp and luxury of the feasts given him.

A. R. 676.
A. U. C. 76.

young men and maids sung hymns to his praise. And he had not the delicacy of Augustus, who according to (a) Horace could not bear praises, if they were not seasoned with a fine and ingenious turn of thought. The (b) Poets of Corduba, whose verses favoured of the soil, and had no spirit, however engaged the attention of Metellus. Statues of Victory were also made to descend by machines, which in the midst of artificial thunder and lightning set crowns upon his head. To all these honours were added solemn entertainments, in which he appeared dressed in an embroidered robe, and with all the pomp of a Triumpher. Care was taken, that in these feasts profusion should be displayed in conjunction with elegance; and not only all Spain was made to supply whatever was most exquisite for covering the table; but persons were sent beyond sea and into Mauritania for game till then unknown.

Sallust, from whom we have most of this account, observes that (c) Metellus hurt himself much by authorizing these excesses, and that he lost by them great part of his reputation, especially with those, who retained the ancient probity and taste, and who conceived, that this luxury and extravagant honours had something in them of superb, odious and unworthy of the gravity of the Roman Empire. Pompey well

(a) Cui malè si palpere, recalcitrat undique tutus.

Hor. Sat. II. 1.

(b) Etiam Cordubæ natis
Poetis, pingue quiddam sonantibus atque peregrinum,
tamen aures suas dedebat.
Cicer. pro Arch. n. 26.

(c) Quibus rebus aliquan-

tam partem gloriæ demserat,
maximè apud veteres & sanctos viros, superba illa, gravia,
indigna Romano imperio
astumantes. *Sallust. apud
Macrob. Satur. II. 9.*

sustained the glory of the Commonwealth by the dignity of his manners. Naturally sober, and averse to voluptuousness, he had still increased the severity of his manner of living in so difficult a war; and the contrast of so young a man's prudence was a stronger condemnation of the taste, which Metellus at an advanced age expressed for pleasures and pomp.

Perhaps this drunkenness of joy is more excusable in Metellus, than his inhumanity in setting a price upon the head of Sertorius, by promising an hundred talents and twenty thousand acres of land to any Roman, who should kill him, and liberty to return to Rome, if he were an exile: base (a) proceeding, that argued the despair of conquering one by force, whose blood he was for purchasing at the price of money. It is to be believed, that this proclamation did Sertorius great hurt; that it tempted the fidelity of many, who had hitherto adhered to him; and that it occasioned the change, which history observes in his manners, and the cruelties with which it reproached him. We shall speak of them more at large in the sequel.

L. OCTAVIUS.

C. AURELIUS COTTA.

A. R. 677.
Ant. C. 75.

Sertorius was however not the less successful in the war. We do not find, that he fought any more general battles. Probably he avoided them with more caution than ever, perceiving how much more advantageous surprizes and

(a) Ως απογράφει τῆς φανεῆς ἀμύνης ὡνόμενος τὸν ἄνδρα διὰ πειθοῦς.

A. R. 67.
A. D. C. 75.

Plut.

Liv. Epist.
XCII.

Mithridates finds an Enemy to Sertorius to get his aid.

stratagem were to him. We have no particular account of the operations of this campaign, except in respect to the succour of the city of * Pallantia, which Pompey had reduced to extremities. He had already undermined the walls, which were sustained only upon props, when Sertorius arrived. Pompey did not judge it proper to wait his coming up; but having caused the props to be set on fire, he retired with safety to Metellus. Sertorius gave orders for rebuilding the walls of Pallantia; and from thence falling suddenly on a body of the enemy, encamped near † Calagaris, he killed them three thousand men. But his greatest exploit was undoubtedly his having fatigued both armies of the enemy by marches and counter-marches; having kept them perpetually in perplexity by frequent ambuscades, cut off their provisions by land, prevented them by his cruizers from having any brought to them by sea, and by all these measures reduced both the one and the other to abandon all the part of Spain subject to him: so that Metellus retired into a Province of Hispania Ulterior, which is not named, and Pompey into Gallia Narbonensis.

This same year Mithridates gave Sertorius an occasion of distinguishing his magnanimity. That Prince, who meditated renewing the war with the Romans for the third time, sought supports and allies on all sides for sustaining the weight of such an undertaking. He had then two fugitive Romans at his court, L. Fannius and L. Magius, old companions and friends of

* Palencia in the Kingdom of Leon.

† Calahorta in Old Castile, on the right side of the Ebro.

Fimbria. Their hatred for Sylla served them as a recommendation to Mithridates, and they supported themselves in his favour by flattery. As they had formerly adhered to the party, of which Sertorius protected the remains, and the glory of that General had reached the extremities of the East, they inspired Mithridates with thoughts of making an alliance with him. The King of Pontus was struck with that idea, and the flatterers did not fail to exaggerate the advantages of it to him. They compared him to Pyrrhus, and Sertorius to Hannibal; and they advanced with confidence, that Rome, attacked in the East and West, would never be in a condition to make head on both sides, nor to resist the greatest of Kings supported by the greatest of Generals. Mithridates in consequence sent ambassadors to Sertorius with orders to offer him money and ships, and to demand for the King the Cession of Asia, which he had been obliged to abandon by the Treaty with Sylla.

Sertorius gave those Ambassadors audience at the head of his Senate; and when they were withdrawn, he brought the affair into deliberation. Every one was for accepting the King's offers, that seemed extremely advantageous to them, as he asked only a shadow, an empty title, in a word nothing, which they could consider as dependant on them; and in exchange granted them the aids of which they stood most in need. And indeed Spain supplied Sertorius with as many men as he could desire. But it is easy to conceive, that he must have wanted money; and his naval force was too weak, tho' he had retained to the last an important post upon the sea. This was Dianium, a colony of Massylians,

A. R. 677.
Ant. C. 75.
Appian.
in Mithrid.
Plut. in
Sertor.

*Haughty
answer of
Sertorius.*

A. R. 677. Maffylans, now called *Denia*, in the Kingdom
 Ant. C. 75. of Valentia.

Sertorius who knew this double necessity, as well as his Council, however did not think like them in respect to the proposals of Mithridates. He said, that he did not pretend to oppose his seizing Bithynia and Cappadocia, countries always governed by Kings, and to which the Romans had no ancient pretensions : But that as to Asia Minor, of which they were legitimately possessed, when that Prince had endeavoured to take it from them, from which he had been driven out by Fimbria, and which he had renounced by a solemn Treaty, he would never consent, that it should fall again under the power of Mithridates. “ (a) For, added
 “ he, I ought to make my power subservient
 “ to the greatness of the Commonwealth, and
 “ not to aggrandize myself by its losses and
 “ reduction. A man of courage undoubtedly
 “ desires to conquer with glory ; but he ought
 “ to think, that life itself were too dearly pur-
 “ chased at the price of bad and infamous mea-
 “ sures.”

Surprize of Such was the answer carried back to Mithri-
Mithri- dates by his Ambassadors, which surprized him
dates. The strangely. *What orders then, cried he out,*
alliance is *would Sertorius send me, did he preside in the*
concluded. *Senate at Rome ; as banished, proscribed, and*
driven out of the coasts of the Atalantic Sea, he
sets bounds to my Kingdom, and threatens me with
war, if I make any attempts upon Asia.

(a) Δὲν γὰρ αὐξάνει τὴν τὸν γέναιω γὰρ αἰδῶ μετὰ
 εὐλὴν ὑπ' αὐτῆς κρατοῦτος, ἔχ- τῇ καλῶς καὶ αἰστέον, αἰσχρῶς
 ὑπαίτιον τὰς ἐχέουσας κρατοῦν αὐ- οἱ εὐδὲ σώζονται.

The

The treaty was concluded upon the conditions prescribed by Sertorius. It imported, that Mithridates should have Bithynia and Cappadocia; that Sertorius should send him a General and some troops, and that he should receive from the King three thousand talents and forty ships. Sertorius actually made one of his Senators, called M. Marius, set out for Asia; and, which is singular, and extremely argues the preheminance of the Roman Name, that Proconsul of Sertorius's creating, had all the honours of that office in the army of Mithridates. If any city of Asia had been taken, he entered it in pomp, preceded by his rods and axes, and followed by the King of Pontus, who condescended to take the second place. He granted liberty to some of those cities; to others immunities and exemptions, all in the name of Sertorius, without permitting Mithridates to perform any act of Sovereignty in a Roman Province.

This is the last remarkable circumstance in the life of Sertorius. Though he lived about two years longer, always sustaining war against powerful enemies, his history supplies nothing, that answers the glory of his former years. Pompey being reduced by him to take up his winter-quarters in Gallia Narbonensis, wrote from thence a letter to the Senate in very high and menacing terms; complaining, that they suffered him to want every thing, and that during the three years he had made war in Spain, he had scarce received the money that was necessary for the expence of one. Hereproached them bitterly with services so ill rewarded, and

A. R. 677.
Ant. C. 75.

*Mentioning
Letter of
Pompey to
the Senate,
who send
him more.*

A. R. 67.
Ant. C. 75. and concluded with this declaration. (a) *I have not only exhausted my estate, but my credit. I have no resource left but in you. If you fail me, take notice I tell you in spite of me, my army, and upon our heels, that of Sertorius, will enter Italy.*

A. R. 68.
Plin. in
Pomp. &
Lucull. When this letter arrived at Rome, Lucullus was Consul ; and as he ardently desired to be charged with the war against Mithridates, he was afraid that Pompey sought a pretext for quitting that of Spain, in order to come to Rome to dispute with him the other far more glorious, and at the same time more easy, employment. The Consul therefore spared no pains for giving a rival satisfaction, whom he was for keeping at a distance ; and caused all the money he demanded to be sent him. This supply put Pompey into a condition to return into Spain, and to carry on the war with advantage. But no particulars of it are come down to us.

Perperna
ceals a-
gainst Ser-
torius.
Desertions
and Treas-
ons pun-
ished with
rigour.
Appian.
Civ. l. I.
Put in
Sertor. In the mean time Sertorius grew weak both by treasons, and the rigour he used for preventing and punishing them. The spirit of sedition had crept in amongst the principal Romans that adhered to him, as soon as the affairs of the party began to prosper. Whilst the danger was urgent, fear had kept them submissive to the only one, who could deliver them from it : but when that fear was over-blown, jealousy took place. Perperna in particular, who was the most illustrious amongst them, and who in

(a) Ego non rem familiarem modo, sed etiam fidem contumpsi. Reliqui vos celsus : cui nisi subvenitis, invito & præterente me, exer-

citus hinc, & cum eo omne bellum Hispaniæ, in Italiam transgredietur. *Sallust. Hist. l. III.*

virtue

virtue of his nobility pretended to the command, inflamed divisions by his factious discourse : *What evil genius, said he, has made us quit one unhappy state to precipitate ourselves into a worse ? We were unwilling, whilst in our own country, to obey Sylla, whom the whole universe obeyed, and we came hither to live in liberty. And now we voluntarily make ourselves slaves, and consent to be the followers of an obscure exile, without rank or name. He calls us the Senate, a vain title, that exposes us to ridicule ; and in reality we are not treated with less haughtiness, nor less imperiously, than the Barbarians.*

Discourse of this kind had its effect ; and Sertorius, who perceived that the affection of the Romans was alienated from him, reposed his whole confidence in the Spaniards, and formed his guard of them : new matter of complaint to the Romans, and which disgusted many even of those, who had continued faithful hitherto. They could not suffer, that Barbarians should be preferred to them, and the distrust of Sertorius seemed the greater injury to them, as it was undeserved, and they had placed their entire confidence in him. Their resentment was still more increased by the pride of the Spaniards, who seeing themselves preferred, treated them with contempt, and openly taxed them with infidelity. In consequence the army of Sertorius was full of murmurs, division and disgust, either against the General, or of nation to nation ; and he would have seen himself abandoned, but for the necessity they all knew they had of him. Many however deserted ; and conspiracies were formed against the life of Sertorius, which drew rigours from him, perhaps necessary, but always infinitely odious in respect

respect to ancient friends, who having been proscribed with him, had always shared in his good or bad fortune.

Cruelty of Sertorius in respect to the children he had caused to be educated at Osca.

His secret enemies, whose number these punishments augmented, by their practices carried the evil, which was already very great, to the last excess. They ruined affairs designedly, and in particular laboured to excite the hatred of the Spaniards against Sertorius, by using them harshly, and loading them with taxes, as if by his order. From thence arose revolts and commotions amongst those nations; and those who were sent to remedy disorders, did not return till they had widened the breach, and multiplied the rebels. It is needless to observe, that by the help of these dissensions the enemy made considerable progress. In consequence Sertorius, exasperated by bad success, and reduced to extremities by revolts, forgot his former lenity to such a degree, as to let the weight of his wrath fall upon the children of the Spaniards, that he caused to be educated at Osca, part of whom he killed, and sold the rest.

Plutarch's reflection upon that deed.

Plutarch has observed, that in consequence of the cruelties Sertorius gave into in the latter times, some believed that his mildness and lenity had never been real, and that the moderate conduct, he had at first observed, was only disguise and art, the dictate of reflection and the necessity of affairs. As to himself he thought otherwise. (a) "I believe, said he, that

(a) Ἐγὼ δὲ ἀρετὴν μὲν εὐ-
νοίαν καὶ μετὰ λόγου συνέστασιν ἐκ
α. πρὸς δὲ καὶ τύχην τις ἐκείνης
πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἄλλαν δὲ σφαι-
ρισμὸν καὶ φύσιν χειρῶν, ὑπὸ
σκευασμῶν μεγάλων παρ' Ἀζύων
ἐκμαθεύσαν, καὶ ἀνίστασθαι τῷ

δαίμονι συμμεταβάλλειν τὸ ἥθος,
ὃ καὶ Σεντιόριον οἶμαι παθεῖν,
ἢ ἢ τῆς τύχης αὐτὸν ἐπιλείπε-
σης, ἐκτραχυνόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν
σφαίμακτων, γυόμενον ποικίλων
πρὸς τὰς ἀδελφεύσας.

" pure

“ pure virtue, founded upon solid principles,
“ will support itself against fortune, and never
“ depart from its nature. But it is not im-
“ possible, but mild dispositions, if put to un-
“ happy trials, and persecuted with disgraces
“ they have not deserved, may change character,
“ when fortune changes in respect to them.
“ And this is what I think happened to Ser-
“ torius. In the decline of his affairs, irri-
“ tated by his misfortunes, he became wicked
“ with men who were themselves wicked and
“ unjust.”

Thus speaks that wise Historian, who by a very equitable judgment, without diminishing the blame in the least, which the last actions of Sertorius deserved, sustains the whole glory of his past conduct. And indeed it is knowing mankind very ill, to imagine them incapable of departing from themselves; and if there be any thing to object to in Plutarch's reflection, it is perhaps his ascribing too much to human virtue, when he makes it superior to the attacks of fortune.

If we may believe Appian, Sertorius also gave into other excesses, and women and wine were exceptions to his virtue. But Plutarch expressly says the contrary; as we shall see immediately, and his authority seems to me undoubtedly preferable.

Perperna, whom the Dæmon of ambition, *Conspiracy*
and that of envy animated against Sertorius, at *of Per-*
length succeeded in forming a conspiracy, by *perna a-*
which he gained his point. All the conspira- *gainst the*
tors were Romans. History mentions several of *life of Ser-*
them, of which the principal were, Aufidius, *torius.*
Græcinus, Antonius, a Fabius and a Manlius. The
indiscretion of the last, who rashly opened him-
self

self to a young man, had like to have frustrated the design. But Perperna, who was apprized of it, hastened the execution of his project. That he might have an occasion to invite Sertorius to sup at his house, he planted a courier, who brought him news of a victory gained by one of his Lieutenants. Sertorius full of joy offered a sacrifice of thanksgiving to the gods ; at the end of which Perperna desired him to come and conclude the feast with himself and some of his friends there present, (who were all in the conspiracy) and he pressed him so earnestly, that it was not in his power to withstand his instances.

*Death of
Sertorius.*

The entertainments, at which Sertorius was present, always passed with gravity and decency. He would admit nothing in them to the offence of modesty, and accustomed his guests to be chearful with reason, and without departing from the bounds of a just reserve. But in this last entertainment, when the company were flushed with wine, the conspirators seeking an occasion to quarrel, began to hold the most dissolute discourses ; and feigning to be drunk, proceeded to every kind of licentiousness, with design to make Sertorius angry. As for him, whether in effect of his natural disposition averse to debauch, or that he suspected something of their intention from their want of respect of his person, he contented himself with changing his posture upon his bed, and with lying upon his back, as having no share in what passed. Perperna then took a cup full of wine, which he let fall in drinking. This was the signal agreed upon. Antonius immediately, who was upon the same bed with Sertorius, gave him a wound with a sword. Sertorius would

would have raised himself up ; but Antonius fell upon him, and seized his hands ; when all the other conspirators running thither stabbed him in many places, without its being in his power to make any resistance.

Thus perished Sertorius, one of the greatest Captains of the ancient world, and who having had upon his hands two of the most illustrious Generals Rome had at that time, Metellus Pius and Pompey the Great, had supported himself a great while with equality, and even frequently with advantage ; and if he was reduced to give way at last, it was only in effect of being abandoned and betrayed by his own people. He was in the eighth year of his Command. If then he was killed in the Consulship of Varro A. R. 979. Lucullus and C. Cassius, as it is probable, he must have been called in by the Lusitanians in the second consulship of Sylla. The war was not entirely terminated by his death ; but during two years, which it subsisted afterwards, it was only one continued series of disgraces to the party he had defended ; so strange a difference does the person of a single man sometimes make in great affairs.

Perperna, as soon as he had compleated his *Perperna* crime, was for reaping the fruit of it by taking *becomes* possession of the command. But he found it *head of the* not a little difficult to get himself acknowledged *party.* Appian. Plut. The cruel assassination of Sertorius had put an end to all hatred conceived against him, and made compassion succeed it. The causes of complaint, which people believed they had against him, were thought of no more ; and only his virtues were remembered. The Spaniards in particular, who had so many obligations to that great man, and by whom he had
made

made himself passionately beloved, regretted him extremely, and looked upon his murderer only with horror. Many states revolted that instant, and ran to submit either to Pompey or Metellus. In the mean time Perperna managed so well between promises, money, menaces, and even punishments aptly employed against the most obstinate, that he prevented the army from disbanding : and as he was incontestably the most distinguished of the remaining Romans, and had always enjoyed the honour of the second rank during the life of Sertorius, no body disputed the first with him, and he had the satisfaction at last of seeing himself the chief of the party.

He is defeated by Pompey,

But if he retained the greatest part of Sertorius's forces, he was far from having the same talent for governing them, and he soon shewed, that he was not more capable of commanding than of obeying. It was only sport to Pompey to reduce him. He laid a snare for him, in which Perperna having stupidly given, was entirely defeated, his army dispersed, his principal officers killed on the spot, and himself taken prisoner.

who causes him to be killed without seeing him, and burns all Sertorius's papers.

Cruelty is a vice, that is usually joined with cowardice. Perperna, in the desperate state to which he was reduced, instead of suffering an inevitable death with bravery, made a vain attempt to save, or at least to prolong, his life. He caused Pompey to be told, that being become master of Sertorius's papers, he had found among them proof of secret intelligences held with him by some of the principal Senators of Rome, and even persons of Consular dignity. He assured him, that he had the original letters in his hands, by which they invited Ser-

torius

torius to come to Italy. Pompey on this occasion acted, not as a young man, but as one of profound sense and mature judgment. For judging, that those letters might contain the seeds of new troubles and discord, which might prevent the Commonwealth from enjoying the tranquillity, of which it stood so much in need, he caused them all to be brought to him with the rest of Sertorius's papers, and burnt them, without reading them himself, or suffering any other person to do so. And for fear that Perperna should divulge what he knew, and mention names, he caused him to be killed suddenly, without consenting to see him. Pompey was therefore the Avenger of Sertorius; and punishment soon succeeded his crime. For Perperna could not have enjoyed the command above a year. The other murderers of Sertorius had no better a fate. Several of them were taken by Pompey's soldiers, and killed by his order. Some fled to Libya, where the Moors shot them to death with arrows. But one escaped: but it was only to drag a miserable life in some wretched village of Spain, hated by all that knew him, and reduced to beggary.

After Perperna's defeat and death, the rest of the party had no resource, but in the victor's clemency. The towns of Spain submitted with eagerness: only two ventured to resist, * Uxama upon the Douro, and Calaguris upon the Iberus. Pompey took and demolished the first. Calaguris, besieged by Afranius, suffered the greatest horrors of famine; and the inhabitants proceeded to the abominable excess of killing and eating their wives and children, and of salting their flesh to make it

*Peace of Spain re-
inflated.*

* Osma.

Val. Max.
VII. 6.

A. R. 671. keep the longer. At length their obstinacy was overcome, and the city was taken and burnt in the Consulship of Aufidius Orestes and Lentulus Sura. Thus ended the war of Sertorius, after having subsisted ten years ; and with it expired the last remains of Marius's faction. Sylla's party continued sole masters of the Commonwealth, without any adversary's disputing the possession of it with them. However the conquered faction, though in appearance extirpated for ever, was soon after revived by Cæsar, whose first steps were authorised by the favour, which the name of Marius had kept up amongst the people, and who at length succeeded not only in subverting the whole plan of the government established by Sylla, but in annihilating even the liberty of Rome.

*Trophies
and Tri-
umphs of
Pompey.
Flor. III.
22.*

*Plin. VII.
26.*

The war of Sertorius is, as we see, mixed, half civil, half foreign. But the victors, in order to have a pretext for triumphing, denominated it a war with the States of Spain, dropping the name of Sertorius, who had however constituted its whole force, and from whom themselves derived their principal glory. Pompey erected an illustrious monument of his exploits in the Pyrenees. These were trophies with an inscription importing, that from the Alps to the extremities of Hispania Ulterior he had subjected eight hundred and seventy-six cities. He undoubtedly reckoned villages and castles in the number. It is said, that to this day the remains of those trophies are to be seen in the vallies of *Andorra* and *Altavaca*. Many also consider the city of Pampeluna as one of Pompey's monuments, and affirm him to be the founder of it. But that admits difficulties.

Metellus and he triumphed on their return to Rome. But there was a circumstance in it entirely singular with respect to Pompey; which is, that he triumphed for the second time whilst only a Roman Knight.

S E C T. II.

Multitude and comp'ication of facts. Order, in which they will be distributed. Origin of the war with Spartacus. Character of that Captain, and his first condition. His first successes. Augmentation of his forces. Arms grossly made. Excesses in which the slaves give, notwithstanding Spartacus. P. Varinius Prætor, defeated by Spartacus. Moderation and prudence of Spartacus in prosperity. The two Consuls and a Prætor sent against him. Division between the revolted slaves. Crixus is defeated and killed. Victories gained by Spartacus over the three Roman Generals. Three hundred prisoners forced to fight as Gladiators to honour the funeral of Crixus. Spartacus marches against Rome. Luxury and bad discipline in the Roman armies. Crassus the Prætor is charged with the war against Spartacus. His severity. He decimates a cohort. He forces Spartacus to retire towards the straits of Sicily. Spartacus endeavours in vain to pass over part of his troops into Sicily. Crassus shuts him up in Bruttium by lines drawn from sea to sea. Spartacus forces the lines. Terror of Crassus. He gains an advantage that revives his hopes. New victory of Crassus. One of his lieutenants, and his Quæstor are defeated. Last battle, in which Spartacus is defeated and killed. Vanity of Pompey, who having defeated a body of the

flying slaves, is for ascribing the glory of terminating the war to himself. Oration decreed to Crassus.—DETACHED FACTS. Varro Lucullus makes conquests in Thrace, and triumphs. Other Proconsuls of Macedonia, who before him had made war against the Thracians. New collection of the Sibyl's verses made on all sides. Contests concerning the Tribuneship. Curio, an Orator of a singular kind. Infraction of Sylla's Law against the Tribunes. The Tribuneship reinstated in all its rights by Pompey. Scarcity of Provisions in Rome, whilst the Pirates were masters of the sea. Quæstorship of Cicero. Mortification which he suffers on that occasion. He chooses to reside always at Rome. Youth of Cæsar. He retires into Asia. He returns to Rome after Sylla's death. He accuses Dolabella. He returns into Asia. He is taken by Pirates, whom he afterwards causes to be crucified. After his return to Rome, he labours to conciliate the favour of the People. He unites debauchery with ambition. He constantly pursues the plan of reviving the faction of Marius. His Quæstorship in Spain. Effect of a statue of Alexander's upon him. WAR OF THE PIRATES. Rise and progress of the power of the Pirates. Servilius Isauricus makes war against them with success, but without destroying them. Command of the seas given to the Prætor M. Antonius. He is shipwrecked on a cruize on the island of Crete. He dies of grief in effect. His easy and profuse disposition. The Pirates become more powerful than ever.

IN compiling the history of preceding times I complained of the scarcity of facts; but in this place the multiplicity of them perplexes me. The disposition of so vast a subject, as the Roman History now becomes, is one of the greatest difficulties I experience in writing it. The war of Spartacus agrees in point of time with the end of that of Sertorius. The war with the Pirates had been continued throughout a long series of years, both before and after the events I have just related. The third war of Mithridates begins two or three years before the death of Sertorius. At the same time the Romans made war in Thrace and Macedonia. Add the fact, which relates to the internal affairs of the commonwealth, and pass in Rome; besides particular circumstances, that concern illustrious personages, in respect to whom every thing is material. We see hear no doubt a multiplicity of matter, in which it is very hard to avoid confusion.

Multitude and complication of fact.

The best choice I can make is in my opinion, to follow, as I have already done, the plan laid down for me by Mr. Rollin, my master and model; and by his example, not to confine myself so rigorously to chronological order, as to neglect, at the same time, the connexion of facts. I shall therefore separate as much as possible the great subjects: and as the war with Mithridates is the most important of all those I have just mentioned, That I intend to treat by itself. That of the Pirates, of which the order I have laid down to myself, has not permitted me hitherto to speak, is of an older date. I shall therefore give it the first place, at least in respect to every thing that preceded

Order in which they will be distributed.

the command of the sea given to Pompey. I am going to begin with the war of Spartacus, which is a kind of detached part; and I shall give an article a place after it, in which I shall treat of less considerable wars, and a great number of detached facts.

WAR of SPARTACUS.

M. TERENTIUS VARRO LUCULLUS.

C. CASSIUS VARUS.

A. R. 679.
An. C. 73.

We have seen Sicily twice reduced to extremities by the revolt of slaves. Italy in its turn experienced the same misfortune, and had entire cause to perceive, how great an evil the multiplicity of slaves is to a state.

*Origin of
the war of
Spartacus.
Character
of that
General,
and his
first con-
dition.
Plut. in
Crass.
Appian.
Car. l. 1.
Flor. III.
20.
Oros. V.
14.*

One Lentulus, in the city of Capua, caused a great number of gladiators to be taught their art, most of them either Gauls or Thracians by birth, who had been reduced to that sad state, not by any crimes, but solely by the injustice of him who had bought them. Of that number two hundred entered into a plot to make their escape. But their design having been discovered, only twenty-eight were capable of putting it in execution, and fled with no other arms than kitchen-knives and spits, which they found at hand. Nothing, in appearance, could be more contemptible, nor less likely to make the Capital of the Universe tremble. But besides that in a Government, where great numbers are discontented with their condition, the least commotions are to be feared, those fugitive slaves had a man at their head, who was alone worth an army; a man of ability and valour, intrepid in dangers, equally know-
ing

ing how to employ stratagem and force, capable A. R. 679.
 of resources in adversity, and of a wise mode- Ant. C. 73.
 ration in prosperity; in a word, a man, to
 whom fortune seemed to have done the greatest
 injustice, by uniting in his person the condition
 of a slave with the talents of an Heroe.

Spartacus, every body sees it is of him I
 speak, was born in Thrace, and had served
 amongst the auxiliary troops of the Romans.
 Having been taken prisoner, on what occasion
 we have no account, he was sold for a slave,
 and destined by his masters to be made a gla-
 diator: But his spirit was too great to be re-
 conciled to so infamous a profession; and it was
 he, that perswaded the companions of his for-
 tune rather to hazard their lives in the defence
 of their liberty, than for the cruel pleasure of
 spectators. He however was not the only leader
 of the band. Crixus and Oenomaus were asso-
 ciated with him in the command: which divi-
 sion of authority was not one of the least diffi-
 culties, that Spartacus experienced in the course
 of his enterprize.

As soon as he had quitted Capua, they met First suc-
 a carriage laden with the arms of gladiators for cesses of
 another city. They stopped and seized them; Spartacus.
 and those arms, though little fit for war, were
 still better than their spits and knives. But the
 people of Capua coming out to attack them
 in a strong place, to which they had retired,
 Spartacus defeated them, and killed a great
 number of them; and having taken their
 spoils; he saw himself thereby in a condition
 to give his little troop arms truly military.
 They were much rejoiced to renounce weapons,
 which they considered as disgraceful; and from
 gladiators they now became soldiers.

A. R. 69.
A. U. C. 73.

This first success augmented their number, but not sufficiently yet to embolden them to keep the field: and Claudius Pulcher, who was sent from Rome against them, found them posted upon mount Vesuvius. He incamped at the foot of that mountain, occupying the only practicable way, that led to the summit; and supposed, that he had effectually shut up the rebels, because all the rest was only steep rocks and precipices. But no ways are impracticable to valour animated by despair. The slaves made themselves very strong and high ladders of the wild vine branches, that they found upon the spot in abundance, and by their help descended all of them along the rock, except one, who at first remained above, to take care of the arms, and having thrown them down to his comrades, when they were in the plain, descended also in his turn, and re-joined them. Spartacus did not content himself with escaping from the enemy: he attacked the Romans when they least expected him, defeated them, took their camp, and in that manner gained a second victory.

The rage of his forces. Arms greatly forged.

It was at this time that the slaves of all the neighbouring countries came in to range themselves around their deliverer. Their number soon increased to ten thousand: and as Spartacus had not arms for so great a multitude, he was forced to call in the aid of industry. They made shields of basket-work, which they covered with skins of beasts newly killed; and all the iron they could get, they forged into swords and other offensive weapons. They also seized some studs, in order to have cavalry.

With

With these forces they committed terrible ravages throughout all Campania. (a) *Horace* regretted the excellent wines, of which those slaves by plundering then deprived the luxury and delicacy of the Roman tables. But that had been a small matter, if they had contented themselves so. In the towns and even important cities, as Cora, Muceria, Nola, which they took and plundered, they inflicted a thousand cruelties and outrages upon such, as had the misfortune to fall into their hands. Spartacus did his utmost to oppose these excesses; and employed both remonstrances and requests. But every thing was in vain to such abject souls, whose insolence was blown up by success and victory, and who greedily indulged the inhuman pleasure of revenging themselves by all possible indignities and inflictions upon those they had formerly feared.

Rome at length perceived, that this was a war of a serious nature, and the Prætor, P. Varinius, was made to set out with an army. But he no sooner arrived than one of his Lieutenants, called Furius, who commanded a detachment of two thousand men, was defeated by Spartacus. Some time after, Cossinius, whom Plutarch terms the Counsellor and Colleague of Varinius, suffered himself to be surprized in Lucania. The enemy were very near taking him in the bath: his troops were defeated, his camp forced, and himself killed upon the spot.

There was however an occasion, wherein Spartacus was shut up in a defile by the Prætor.

Frontin.
Strat. II.
5, 22.

(a) Spartacum si quâ potuit vagantem
Fallere testa.

Hor. Od. III. 14.

But

A. R. 679.
Ant. C. 73.

But he extricated himself by stratagem out of that difficulty. To amuse and deceive the Romans, he caused posts to be erected before the gate of his camp, which supported dead bodies, clothed and completely armed, in order that they might be taken at a distance for advanced guards and sentinels. The enemy were thereby assured, that his army continued in its camp, while he was making it file off in the rear by favour of the night. Having escaped this danger, he resumed all his superiority, beat Varinius on several occasions, and even at last took his fasces, which from thenceforth he caused to be born before himself.

Moderation and wisdom of Spartacus in prosperity.
Plut.

In this height of prosperity, Spartacus thought like a wise and moderate man. He saw, that it was impossible for him to triumph over the Roman power, and that he must necessarily sink under it sooner or later. He therefore resolved to march his army towards the Alps, in order, that after having passed those mountains, the Gauls and Thracians, which were the two principal nations, that composed his army, might retire to their respective homes, there to enjoy in perfect safety a liberty it had cost them so much to acquire. But so wise a counsel was rejected. Those slaves, hitherto always victorious, and who saw themselves forty thousand in number, full of a frantic confidence, and allured by the hopes of booty, thought it better to plunder Italy, without much regarding the consequences.

L. GELLIUS POPLICOLA.

CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CLODIANUS.

A. R. 690.

Ant. C. 72.

Rome saw itself threatened with a very great and imminent danger, whilst her armies were successful in more remote countries. Pompey had compleated the reduction of Sertorius's party in Spain: Lucullus gained great victories over Mithridates in the east. And notwithstanding a state so powerful abroad, apprehended becoming the prey of a gladiator. For the troops of Spartacus increased perpetually, and already amounted to seventy thousand men. the Romans in their terror made three armies take the field, two commanded by the two Consuls, and a third under the Prætor Q. Arrius. And they had the greater reason to hope success with such great forces, as a division had arose among the enemy.

*The two
Consuls
and a
Prætor
sent a-
gainst
Spartacus.*

I have said, that the revolted slaves were most of them Gauls or Thracians by nation. This difference of country formed two parties, which had each their chief. The Gauls adhered to Crixus, their countryman, and the Thracians to Spartacus. (The third chief, Oenomaus, had been killed in one of the battles of the preceding year.) Spartacus could not keep the Gauls within the bounds of their duty. Their pride and audacity induced them to separate from him; and under the command of Crixus, they threw themselves into Apulia, and laid waste the country. But they had soon reason to repent their imprudence. The Consul Gellius and the Prætor Arrius fell upon them near Mount * Garganus, and of thirty thousand men, of which their body consisted, killed

*Division
between
the rebel
slaves.
Crixus is
defeated
and killed.*

* Mount
St. Ange-
lo.

A. R. 630. killed twenty thousand. Crixus himself fell in
AEL. C. -2. the action, fighting valiantly.

*Victories
gained by
Spartacus
over the
three Ro-
man Gene-
rals.*

So great a disaster did not disconcert Spartacus. He directed his march through the Appennines, still pursuing his design of gaining the Alps, and of quitting Italy. The Consul Lentulus advanced to meet him. But that General, of whom Sallust doubts *, whether he had less capacity, or more vanity and rashness, was not an adversary qualified to make head against Spartacus. He was defeated, and his army put to the rout. The Victor then moved back against the other Consul Gellius, who was returning from Apulia to inclose him between himself and his Colleague. Spartacus spared him half the march; and though Arrius had been joined by the Consul, he defeated them both in a pitched battle.

*Three hun-
dred pri-
soners
forced to
fight as
gladiators,
in honour
of the funeral
of Crixus.
Appian.*

Spartacus on this occasion thought his victory not sufficient, and was resolved to add insult to it. Every body knows, that it was the custom of the Romans to make Gladiators combat at the funerals of illustrious persons. Spartacus caused the same honour to be paid to the manes of his companion Crixus: and having chosen three hundred of the bravest prisoners he had taken in his two victories, he forced them to fight round the funeral pile he had erected; without doubt to shew the Romans, that if they delighted in seeing human blood shed, themselves might be exposed to the same treatment. He caused all the rest of the prisoners, and the carriage-horses unfit for service, to be killed. He also burnt all the useless baggage taken from the enemy; and seeing that his

* Perincertum solidior an vanior. *Sall. Hist. l. IV.*

successes had augmented the number of his soldiers to an hundred and twenty thousand, he had the boldness to form the design of marching against Rome.

A. R. 680.
Ant. C. 72.
Spartacus
marches a-
gainst
Rome.

He was not far from it, as the Consuls in conjunction had marched with what troops they could draw together, to post themselves in his way in * Picenum. That obstacle seems to have disconcerted the plan of Spartacus. But he revenged himself upon the Proconsul, C. Cassius, and the Prætor, Cn. Manlius, whom he beat, and reduced to fly.

* *Marca-*
diAncona,

The Senate was extremely dissatisfied with all the Generals of this year; and with great reason: For so many defeats upon the necks of each other, could not proceed solely from the bravery and good conduct of the enemy.

Luxury and sloth prevailed in the Roman armies; the discipline was void of vigour; the military rewards were lavished, without waiting till they were deserved; and Cato refused those, which the Consul Gellius offered him, under whom he served, being unwilling to accept honours that he said were not his due.

Luxury
and bad
discipline
in the Ro-
man ar-
mies.
Plut. in
Cat.

CN. AUFIDIUS ORESTES.

P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SURA.

A. R. 681.
Ant. C. 71.

The new consuls would probably have conducted affairs no better than those of the preceding year. Nothing is known concerning Aufidius. Lentulus Sura is the same, who afterwards conspired with Catilina, and was strangled on that account in Cicero's Consulship. In consequence Crassus was the sole resource of the Commonwealth, who was then Prætor, and in Sylla's war had given proofs of

Crassus
the Præ-
tor, is
charged
with the
war a-
gainst
Spartacus.
Plut. in
Crass.

A. R. 651.
Ant. C. 71.

of his valour and ability. He received orders to march against Spartacus; and his reputation induced many of the principal citizens to accompany him in that war.

His severity. He causes a cohort to be decimated.

He soon shewed himself worthy of the confidence reposed in him. For, having taken upon him the command of the army in Picenum, he detached Mummius, at the head of two legions, with orders to observe the motions of the enemy, but without hazarding a battle, or even a skirmish. Mummius executed that order ill; and believing the occasion favourable, he engaged the enemy, with a success, that proved the Prætor's wisdom. The Roman soldiers fled in a cowardly manner, and many returned to their camp, without their arms, which they had thrown away, to fly more commodiously. Crassus acted then as a great Captain, who knows, that discipline is absolutely necessary in an army; and that severity is its great principle. He did not content himself with reprimanding Mummius sharply; but out of the soldiers, who had done their duty worst, he chose five hundred, whom he caused to be decimated. Fifty of them were executed ignominiously in the sight of the whole army, upon which that example made the greater impression, as it was in a manner new, and nothing of the like nature had been practised during a great length of time. Besides which, on giving arms to those, who had lost them, Crassus obliged them to find sureties for those arms, as they had kept the first so ill. This degrading precaution, which at the same time threatened them with a pecuniary punishment, made them more careful

ful to preserve their arms, both out of honour and interest. A. R. 681.
Ant. C. 71.

These troops having in effect learnt to fear their general's severity more than their enemy's swords, soon retrieved their honour. Crassus cut a body of ten thousand slaves in pieces, of whom two thirds were left upon the field of battle; and soon after he gained an advantage over Spartacus himself, whom he forced to gain Lucania, and retire toward the sea. *He forces Spartacus to retire towards the Strait Messina.*

Spartacus had his design in approaching Rhegio and Sicily. That island had already been the theatre of two wars with slaves; and he did not despair, if he could only transport some part of his troops thither, to rekindle a fire not well extinguished, and which wanted only a little aid to break out again with more fury than ever. And fortune even seemed at first to favour his hopes. There were in the Strait some ships of the Pirates, with whom he treated for transporting two thousand of his troops to Sicily. But the Pirates having received his money broke their engagement with him, and steered a different course. He had so great a desire to go to Sicily, that he even tried to cross the Straight with floats and rafts. It was in vain. The rapidity of the sea, confined in this place between two shores, destroyed such weak machines, and presently shewed him the impossibility of succeeding. In the mean time Crassus had followed him in his march. Spartacus in consequence found himself hemmed up in the peninsula of * Bruttium; a narrow country for so great an army, in which his enemy undertook to confine him. *Spartacus endeavours in vain to pass some part of his troops into Sicily.*

The nature of the place itself gave Crassus that idea. The extremity of Italy on the side of Sicily forms a peninsula joined only to the main- * Calab. Ulterior.
Crassus shuts up Spartacus in Bruttium by lines drawn from sea to sea.

A R. 681.
Ant. C. 71.

main-land by an isthmus of about twelve leagues over. Crassus caused this isthmus to be shut up with a fosse of fifteen feet in depth, and as many in breadth, fortified with a strong and high wall. And that work, which must have been very great and difficult, was finished in a very short time.

*Spartacus
forces the
lines*

Spartacus had at first shewn little attention to the enterprize of the enemy, and had taken no pains to disturb their workmen. His thoughts were solely intent on arming his people; and as he was near the sea on all sides, he invited merchants to bring to his camp, not gold and silver, but iron. Of this he got a great quantity, caused arms to be forged, and supplied all his troops abundantly with them. But when he saw the lines compleated, pressed by famine, and not being able to draw provisions either from the country, which he occupied and had ate up, or from elsewhere, because it was not in his power to remove and extend himself, he perceived the greatness of his danger, and resolved to force the barriers opposed against him. His first attempts were not successful: he lost abundance of soldiers, and was repulsed. To prevent his troops from being discouraged, and to reanimate them by despair, he caused a prisoner to be crucified at the head of his camp; in order that they might see with their own eyes the punishment, to which they were also reserved, if they did not place victory on their side, and should fall into the hands of the Prætor. At length having observed a night, very rough and tempestuous with wind and snow, he found means to fill up a part of the fosse with earth and fascines, and passed his whole army over it.

Crassus

Crassus, who believed he kept Spartacus A. R. 681.
Ant. C. 71.
Terror of
Crassus. entirely shut up, and expected to conquer him without striking a blow, was in such a conster-

nation to see his prey escape him, and so terrified with the calamities, with which he saw Italy again threatened, that in his first emotions of fear, he wrote to the Senate, that it was necessary to recall both Varro Lucullus, who was on his return from the war of Thrace, and Pompey, who having entirely re-established the tranquillity of Spain, was on his way home.

He however did not place his whole confidence in the aids he demanded; and having observed, He gains
an advantage that
revives
his hopes. that the Gaulish slaves, whom even the misfortune and death of their former commander Crixus had not taught to submit with docility

to the orders of Spartacus, had separated from that able General, and formed a body apart, he fell upon them; and having put them into disorder, he would have entirely cut them in pieces, if Spartacus, who was not far off, had not made haste to extricate them out of danger. This success revived Crassus's courage; and repenting then, that he had expressed timidity, and invited Generals to join him, who would deprive him of the glory of terminating this war, he made haste to prevent them.

The Gauls always incamped separate from Spartacus, and had even their particular Gene- New vic-
tory of
Crassus.
Frontin.
II. 5, 34. rals, Gannicius and Castus. The Prætor found means to deceive Spartacus, and to persuade him, that the principal part of the Roman forces were opposite to him, whilst they were really marching against the other Commanders. He gained a signal victory. Thirty five thousand of the enemy, according to the Epitome of Livy, remained upon the spot. Plutarch makes

A. R. 631.
Ant. C. 71.

the number of the dead amount only to twelve thousand three hundred. But he observes, that those slaves fought with so much courage, that among so great a multitude of dead, only two were wounded behind. This victory gloriously effaced the shame of the preceding defeats, which the Romans had sustained. They recovered five Roman Eagles, twenty six standards, and five falces.

One of his
Lieutenants and
his Quæstor are
defeated.
P. ut.

Spartacus after so considerable a loss, thought it necessary to remove from the victor, and marched towards Apulia. Crassus detached one of his Lieutenants and his Quæstor to pursue and harass him. Those officers despising an enemy that fled, followed him so close, that they gave him a favourable occasion for turning back against them, and giving them battle with advantage. The Romans fled in great disorder; and the Quæstor being wounded escaped with great difficulty.

Last battle, in
which
Spartacus
is defeated
and killed

This success occasioned the ruin of Spartacus, because his soldiers became so haughty in effect of it, that they would not pursue the route he had made them take, and forced him to return in quest of Crassus. Besides which, another reason determined Spartacus to that conduct: this was, his having received advice, that Varro Lucullus was arrived at Brundisium from Macedonia; which made him apprehend being inclosed between two armies of the enemy. Crassus no less desired a decisive battle. Pompey approached: and as that General was extremely agreeable to the People, his friends at Rome said publicly in the Assemblies, that it was necessary to send him against Spartacus; and that he alone was born to terminate wars shameful to the Roman name.

name. Accordingly both Crassus and Spartacus equally desiring a battle, they soon came to a general one, in which both sides drew out all their forces.

A. R. 681.
Ant. C. 71.

Spartacus, who was determined to conquer or die on this occasion, testified that resolution by a remarkable action. He killed his horse at the head of his army; saying, that if he was victorious, he undoubtedly should not want horses; and that if he was defeated, he should have no occasion for them. He fought like one in despair, endeavouring to join Crassus, and breaking through the thickest battalions for that purpose. He killed two Centurions with his own hand; but could not come at the General; and having been wounded, he continued defending himself with invincible courage, till he fell dead covered with wounds. After his death, all fled; and as the Victors gave no quarter, the slaughter was horrible: forty thousand slaves remained on the field. The Romans on their side lost a thousand men: but that was compensated by three thousand Roman citizens, whom Spartacus kept prisoners, and who were recovered by the victory. The body of that illustrious Gladiator, who may justly be ranked with the greatest Generals, was sought for in vain, and could not be distinguished amongst the multitude of the dead.

Pompey's vanity, who having defeated a small body of the flying slaves ascribed the glory of having terminated the war to himself. Plut. in Cras. and Pomp.

However from this disaster a considerable number of slaves escaped, many of whom assembled together, and formed different bands. One of these bodies consisting of about five thousand, having been met by Pompey, was cut in pieces; and on so slight a foundation, that General, out of a vanity which reflects no honour upon him, was for ascribing to himself

A. R. 681. and robbing the real conqueror of the glory of
 Ant. C. 71. having terminated the war. He wrote to the
 Senate, "that Crassus had put the slaves to
 flight, but that he had terminated the rebel-
 lion to the very roots." Cicero in more than
 one place has flattered this unjust pretension of
 Pompey, because he loved him, and on the
 contrary hated Crassus. But History has been
 more equitable; and Crassus has retained the
 honour so justly his due, of having by his vi-
 gilance, ability, and valour, in the space of
 six months, happily terminated a war, which
 had given the Romans not much less alarms,
 than that of Hannibal. He pursued all the
 remains of the fugitives, and entirely purged
 Italy of them. Six thousand of them, who
 fell alive into his hands, were crucified all
 along the road from Capua to Rome.

Cic. in
 Ver. V.
 5. & L.
 Manil.
 37.
 Oros. V.
 24.
 Appian.
 Crassus obtained only the lesser triumph, or
Ovation, on account of the contemptible con-
 dition of the enemies he had conquered. A
 distinction was however granted him, of which
 he had been very ambitious; that was permis-
 sion to wear in the ceremony, not the crown of
 myrtle, usually worn in the *Ovation*, but that
 of laurel, which had been hitherto peculiar to
 the great triumph.

DETACHED FACTS.

A. R. 681. **T**HE year, in which Spartacus was defeated,
 abounded with triumphs for the Romans.
 Metellus Pius and Pompey, as we have said
 above, triumphed in it over Spain; Crassus
 over Spartacus and the slaves; and Varro Lu-
 cullus over Thrace.

This

This Lucullus was the brother of him, whose exploits against Mithridates we are soon to relate. He was called M. Terentius Varro Lucullus, because he had been adopted by one Varro, whose names he assumed, adding for his last surname that of the family, from which he was descended. The two brothers loved each other tenderly: and L. Lucullus, who was the eldest, deferred standing for the Edileship, 'till his brother was capable of demanding and exercising it with him.

Varro Lucullus makes conquests in Thrace and triumphs. Plut. in Lucullo.

M. Lucullus, of whom we are speaking in this place, succeeded his brother in the Consulship; and after the year of his magistracy, having had Macedonia for his province, he behaved himself in it like a brave man and a great Captain. He carried the Roman arms a great way into Thrace, attacked the Bessi, a People famous amongst the Ancients for their ferocity, and took from them the city of Philippopolis, which still retains that name, and is situated upon the * Hebrus, and that of Uscudama, which many believe to be the same with *Adrianople*. He seems to have designed to make war against Mithridates on one side, whilst his brother did the same on the other. For he pushed on, if we may believe Florus, as far as the Tanais and the Palus Mæotis. He reduced also the whole coast of the Euxine Sea, from the mouth of the Danube to the Bosphorus of Thrace, and took from Apollonia, a city situated on that coast, a Colossus of Apollo of thirty cubits high, which he placed in the Capitol. He employed only two campaigns in all these expeditions, and afterwards returned to

Freinshem. XCVII. 16.

Flor. III.

* *This River is called by the Turks Mariza.*

Rome, to receive the honour of a triumph he had well deserved.

*Other Pro-
consul, of
Macedo-
nia, who
before Lu-
cullus had
made war
against the
Tracians.*

His predecessor had paved the way for him to all these conquests. This was Curio, who having been consul in 676, had been sent the year following into Macedonia. He had subjected the Dardarians, a warlike nation, who had in all times harrassed the Macedonians, on the North of whom they inhabited. He also conquered Mæsia, and penetrated as far as the Danube and Dacia. This is almost all we know of his exploits. But Frontinus has preserved a circumstance of his constancy, in maintaining the discipline, which ought not to be forgot.

*Frontin.
Stratag.
IV. 1, 3.*

When he was preparing to set out for his expedition against the Dardarians, one of the five legions under his command, mutinied, and declared they would not follow a rash General, who was leading his troops to certain destruction. Curio, far from giving way to their complaint, resolved to reduce them; and having made the other four legions stand to their arms, he obliged the mutineers to come without their arms or belts to chop straw, and dig a trench. He then broke the seditious legion, without regard to all their protestations of submission and most humble intreaties, and distributed the soldiers into the other legions. A General of such firmness, and who knew so well how to make his troops obey him, was well qualified for conquering an enemy. At his return to Rome he triumphed.

Before him two other Proconsuls of Macedonia had also made war upon the barbarous nations of that Province, Ap. Claudius, and Dolabella, who had been Consuls, the one in

673,

673, and the other two years before. Appius Freinshem XCI. 21. had no success; and having been taken ill, in effect of the grief he had conceived on that account, he died in the Province itself. Dolabella, either more brave or more fortunate, had succeeded better, and had obtained the honour of a triumph.

From the little we have just been saying, it appears, that Cicero had reason to say, the government of Macedonia was a (a) nursery for triumphs. That Province was continually infested by restless and fierce nations; and their perpetual incursions presented fine occasions to the avidity, all the Roman Generals had, of acquiring an honour, which to them was the highest point of glory attainable.

The domestic events of the Commonwealth, furnish us during the years we are now running over, with a sufficiently great number of im- New collection of the Sibylline verses made in all Parts. Freinshem XCI. 23. portant facts. The first which offers, is the pains taken by the Senate to repair the loss of the Sybiline Books, consumed at the burning of the Capitol. It was in the Consulship of Cn. Octavius and Curio, the 676th year of Rome, that Deputies of the Senate were sent into Asia to collect all they could find of the Sibyl's oracles. Perhaps an earthquake, which was felt this year at * Reate, contributed to turn * Rieti. the attention of the Romans upon Religion and the gods. It was very violent, and attended with a singular phenomenon. A kind of spark was seen to issue from a star, which on approaching the earth grew so large, as to form a disk equal to that of the moon. The Plin. II. 35.

(a) *Provincia ex omnibus una maximè triumphalis. Cic. in P. f. n. 44.*

sky was as light with it, as it is in a gloomy and cloudy day : and when this kind of star reascended, it seemed to extend itself in length and take the form of a trail of light. I need not observe that this phænomenon was taken for a prodigy. Whether on this occasion, or some other motive, the books of the Sibyl, which had been lost seven years, were then thought of. They collected from Erythræ, a city of Æolis, which passed for the country of the Sibyl, Samos, Ilion, from Africa itself and Sicily, and lastly from different cities of Italy, all the verses, which went under the name of the Sibyls. They chose these, but with very little judgment; and Varro found abundance of interpolations in this collection, which he perceived from the Acrosticks or Initial Letters. However this compilation, in which chance had sufficient share, was consulted, as containing the will of the gods: except with persons of sense, who frequently laughed at it, as we shall see in the sequel.

Contests

*between the
Tribunes and
the Consuls.*

Another more important object, that occasioned great emotions during a considerable space of time, was the Tribunitian Power. I have said, that Sylla extremely weakened it, and abridged its rights. But the People idolized that magistracy, which they considered as the bulwark of their liberty. Accordingly as soon as Sylla was dead, the Tribunes spared no pains for re-establishing their ancient privileges, and there was an open war between them and the Consuls upon that subject. It was particularly very warm during the Consulship of Curio, who supported the reform made by Sylla against the Tribune of Sicinius.

That

That Tribune had frequent contests with the Consul ; and as he had the gift of raillery, he turned his adversary into ridicule very happily, and kept him employed to some purpose. Curio, who was a singular kind of an Orator, was profoundly ignorant, and had not the least tincture of the knowledge every one should have, that has the advantage of a liberal education. His memory frequently failed him ; and Cicero tells us that one day, when they were pleading against each other, Curio on rising up to speak, forgot that moment all he intended to say ; so that he was reduced to declare, that the adverse party deprived him of his memory by spells and enchantments. As to his gesture it was entirely ridiculous. He continually swung his arms about whilst he spoke, and thereby gave occasion for a smart joke of Sicinius. The two Consuls having appeared before the People upon the Tribunal of harangues ; and Cn. Octavius, who had the gout, continuing to sit, wrapt up in cloths with plaisters and fomentations, Curio spoke in the name of both. When he had done, the Tribune addressing himself to Octavius, said : *You can never sufficiently acknowledge the obligations you have to your Colleague. If he had not swung his arms about as usual, the flies would have eat you up by this time.* It is a wonder, that without so many things essential to eloquence, Curio could possibly have passed for an Orator. But he had an abundant and florid elocution ; and that single talent covered the want of all the rest to a certain degree. His adversary Sicinius was also a very bad Orator, and had nothing but abundance of impudence, with the talent of hitting the ridiculous in persons, and mimick-
ing

Sallust.
Hist. II.
in Orat.
Macri.

ing them very pleasantly. For the rest it was not by harangues the quarrel was determined. A shorter and more effectual method was employed. Sicinius was assassinated; and his death with very great appearance of reason was ascribed to Curio.

A. R. 677.
*Change
made in
Sylla's law
against the
Tribunes.*
Freinshem
XCII. 27.

Notwithstanding the unfortunate end of that Tribune, the cause he had supported still found defenders: and the year following the Consul Cotta was obliged to consent, that a considerable change should be made in the law passed by Sylla concerning the Tribuneship. The article which excluded such, as had been Tribunes, from the superior offices, was abolished.

Cic. in
Brut. 223.
& pro
Cluent.
110.

This was gaining something: but much remained to be done. Several Tribunes successively pursued the same design with vigour, Cicero mentions two of them in particular, L. Quintius and M. Lollius Palicanus, men without birth or talents, but capable of imposing upon the multitude by their impudence and (a) loquacity, which the ignorant took for eloquence, and by their eternal clamours and vehement invectives against the Senate and Grantees. The affair was however spun out six years longer; and perhaps would not have succeeded, through the weakness, or rather ambition, of Pompey, who with the view of conciliating the favour of the People, abandoned the maxims of Sylla, and the interests of the Aristocracy. Being become Consul after two Triumphs, at the age of four and thirty, which to another would have been the very summit of honours, he considered that

*The Tri-
buneship
reinstated
in all its
rights by
Pompey.*

(a) Palicanus, loquax magis quàm facundus. *Salust. apud Quintil. IV. 2.*

elevation only as the commencement of his greatness and fortune. His plan was to perpetuate himself, as he did, in command; by passing from employment to employment, and from office to office. He could execute that design only by the means of the people. The Senators were too attentive, and too much interested in preventing the excessive rise of one of their own body, not to traverse his views; whereas every thing was to be obtained from a multitude, by caressing it. He therefore seized the occasion of attaching the People to him for ever by a singular, and passionately desired, service. When he returned from Spain, the whole People expected him as their deliverer and preserver. He did not deceive those hopes, and he had scarce taken possession of the Consulship, when he reinstated the Tribunitian power in all its rights; an ambitious step, which he had cause to repent more than once in the sequel.

Plut. in
Pomp.

Liv. Epit.
XCVII.

Cicero however apologizes for Pompey in respect to this article, and excuses it by necessity. He (a) affirms, “that it was not possible
“to obtain the People’s consent, that the Tribuneship should not subsist; and that sooner
“or later that charge must have assumed its
“ancient authority. From thence he concludes, it was of advantage, that Pompey,
“who was wise and moderate, should acquire
“the merit of that affair with the People,

(a) Sensit (Pompeius non posse deberi huic civitati illam potestatem. Quippe quam tantopere populus noster ignotam expetisset, qui posset carere cognita? Sa-

pientis autem civis fuit, causam nec perniciosam, & ira popularem ut non posset obsisti, perniciosè populari civi non relinquere. Cic. de Leg. III. 26.

“ rather

“ rather than leave it to some pernicious citizen, who might have abused it for subverting the Commonwealth.” Pompey might have had that view, which will make him less in the wrong. But it is difficult to believe, that personal interest did not in a great measure determine him.

Scarcity of provisions at Rome, as long as the Pirates were masters of the sea.
A. R. 677.

A. R. 679.
Cic. in Verr. III. 163.

The scarcity of provisions caused also great troubles and commotions in Rome, during the times of which we are speaking. We see from a discourse of the Consul C. Cotta, which is preserved amongst the fragments of Sallust, that the discontent and commotions of the People rose so high as to endanger the persons of the Consuls. For the rest we have no particular account of these seditions, and the cause of the evil is better known than its effects. This was the Pirates, who covering the Mediterranean with their ships, entirely interrupted commerce, and very frequently took the grain, that was bound to Rome. Several remedies were tried. The Magistrates gave largesses of corn to the multitude. The Commonwealth, conformable by a decree of the Senate, and a law passed by the Consuls Varro Lucullus and C. Cassius, bought a great quantity in Sicily, and expended solely upon this article of Sicilian corn about two hundred and twenty five thousand pounds during the three years that Varres was Prætor. But all these occasional expedients produced but a momentary convenience. It was necessary to put a stop to the depredations of the Pirates; and it was not till Pompey had purged the seas of them, that Plenty was reinstated at Rome.

In this publick calamity Cicero signalized his ^{Cicero's} zeal for the service of the State according to ^{Quæstor-} the extent of the sphere in which he was then ^{ship.} confined; for he was only beginning to have a share in affairs of government. He was appointed Quæstor, which was the first degree of ho- ^{A. R. 676.} nours, under the Consuls Cn. Octavius and Curio, being then one and thirty years old: ^{Cic. in} and he has not left us ignorant, that he had one ^{Pis.} of the first places in that nomination. He exercised the Quæstorship the year following in ^{A. R. 677.} Sicily, in the Consulship of L. Octavius and ^{Plut. in} C. Cotta. Sicily had two Quæstors, one of ^{Cic.} whom resided at Syracuse, and the other at Lilybæum. It was the latter province, that fell by lot to Cicero. He was very active in pressing the Sicilians to furnish the quantity of corn they were to send to Rome: and his activity, which gave them some trouble, at first occasioned complaints. But, when they had experienced his equity, mildness and diligence in business, their murmurs were changed into the greatest applauses; and they expressed their gratitude by honours, which they had not paid to any of his predecessors.

He has given us the following plan himself of his administration. “ During (a) my
“ Quæstorship in Sicily, I sent a great quantity
“ of corn to Rome; my conduct made the
“ merchants applaud my justice, and the
“ easiness of my manners; the citizens the
“ generosity of my behaviour; the Allies my
“ disinterestedness; in a word, every body

(a) Frumenti in summa caritate maximum numerum miseram. Negotiatoribus comis, mercatoribus justus, municipibus liberalis, sociis

abstinens, omnibus eram-
visus in omni officio diiigen-
tissimus, *Cic. pro Plancio, n.*
64.

“ was

“ was sensible of my strict observance of every
 “ part of my duty.” A conduct so laudable
 proceeded from principles still more noble and
 elevated, and such as are worthy of being pro-
 posed as models to all those, who have any
 share whatsoever in publick authority. We
 cannot read the picture, which he gives us of
 his heart and sentiments, without admiration.
 “ In all the (a) offices with which I have been
 “ honoured, says he, I always considered the
 “ duties of them as sacred and religious obli-
 “ gations. When I was elected Quæstor, I
 “ did not think that charge a gift conferred on
 “ me by the People to do me honour: but a
 “ deposit, of which it was my duty to give
 “ them an account. When I was sent to exer-
 “ cise the Quæstorship in Sicily, I conceived,
 “ that all eyes were fixed on me alone;
 “ that I was in a manner placed upon a theatre,
 “ exposed to the view of the Universe: and
 “ in consequence far from giving myself a
 “ loose to unruly appetites, I made it a law to
 “ deny myself even the pleasures and gratifi-
 “ cations, which nature and necessity seem in-
 “ dispensibly to require.”

* Vol. X.
 Hist. of
 Syracuse.

As Mr. Rollin has related in the * Ancient
 History, the discovery of the tomb of Archi-
 medes by Cicero during his Quæstorship, I

(a) Ego quos adhuc mihi
 Magistratus populus Roma-
 nus mandavit, sic eos ac-
 cepi, ut me omnium offi-
 ciorum obstringi religione
 arbitrarer. Ita Quæstor sum
 factus, ut mihi honore illum,
 non solum datum, sed etiam
 credum ac commissum pu-
 tarem. Sic obtinui Quæ-
 sturam in provincia Sicilia,

ut omnium oculos in me
 unum coniectos arbitrater;
 ut me quæsturamque meam
 quasi in aliquo Orbis terræ
 theatro versari existimarem;
 ut omnia semper quæ jucun-
 da videntur esse, non modò
 his extraordinariis cupidita-
 tibus, sed etiam ipsi naturæ
 ac necessitati denegarem.
Cic. in Verr. l. V. n. 35.

shall

shall not repeat it here. But I cannot dispense with giving an account of the slight mortification, which the vanity of our new magistrate experienced on his return to Italy, and which he has given us himself in very ingenuous terms.

From what we have said it is evident, that Cicero took great honour to himself from his Quæstorship; and he owns, that he was so full of it, when he set out from Sicily, that he believed nothing else was talked of at Rome. He was, in consequence, much astonished when passing through Puzzuoli at the time when people drank the waters, which drew together much company at that place, that the first person he met, asked him, when he set out from Rome, and what news he brought from the city. *I don't come from Rome,* replied he, with an air of some mortification, *but from the Province.* O, true, said he who had questioned him, *it is from Africa, I think.* Cicero upon this was more piqued than before, and answered with some warmth, that Sicily, and not Africa, had been his province. A third then mixed in the conversation, and reproaching the first's ignorance of affairs; *Don't you know,* said he, *that Cicero has been Quæstor at Syracuse?* But it was at Lilybæum, as we have said. On this last attack, Cicero behaved like himself; he (a) renounced the desire of being considered as a person of importance, mingled with the croud, and was contented to pass for one, who was come to Puzzuoli to drink the waters with the rest.

(a) Destiti stomachari, & me unum ex iis feci qui ad aquas venissent. *Cic. pro Planc. n. 65.*

*He resolves
to fix at
Rome for
good and
all.*

This trivial adventure caused him to make some very serious reflections. He conceived (a), that the Roman People had little regard to what struck only their ears, and that it was necessary to act upon them by their eyes. From that moment he made it his plan to fix in the city, to shew himself industriously to his fellow-citizens, to make the Forum in a manner his residence : and founding all his hopes of fortune upon his eloquence, he not only laboured to acquire a great name by frequent and shining Orations, but devoted himself to the occasions of all such as sought his assistance, so that he was accessible at all hours of the day and night, and no one ever found his doors shut.

*Youth of
Cæsar.*

All the world knows, Cæsar was the only rival that Cicero had to fear in respect to the glory of eloquence. The former exercised himself much in it during his youth. But his ambition differed widely from that of Cicero. The latter sought only to make a great figure in the Commonwealth ; and for that his eloquence suffered. Cæsar aspired at making himself master of it : and only arms could enable him to attain that point.

If he had been capable of contenting himself with the most exalted fortune, to which a citizen could aspire in a free State, his birth, supported by the greatest genius that ever was, and the assemblage of all the talents in his

(a) Posteaquam sensi populum Romanum aures hebetiores, oculos acres atque acutos, habere, destiti quid de me audituri essent homines cogitare ; feci ut postea

quotidie me præsentem viderent : habitavi in oculis, pressi forum : neminem à congressu meo neque janitor meus neque somnus absterruit. *Idem. ibid. n. 66.*

person

person, could not fail of acquiring him it. The Julian House, of which he was descended, was Patrician; and having been transplanted from Alba to Rome by King Tullus Hostilius, Liv. I. 30. from the beginning of the Commonwealth, had been adorned with the highest dignities. And this is incontestable. But as all high Nobility has its chimæra's, the Julii traced back their origin to fabulous antiquity; to Iulus, the son of Æneas, and consequently the grandson of Venus. The surname of Cæsar was not very antient in that House. The first who had it, as History informs us, was Sex. Julius Cæsar, who was Prætor the 544th year of Rome. It is generally believed, that this surname denotes an infant, for the birth of whom it was necessary * to cut open its mother's womb: and that very dangerous and uncommon operation * A cæso matris utero. Plin. VII. 9. has retained the name from hence of the *Cæsarian* operation. According to another etymology at least as probable, † Cæsar signifies a † A Cæsaric. child born with long hair.

It was therefore from that branch of the Julian family the person of whom we are speaking was descended, who rendered the name of Cæsar the most illustrious of the Universe. All that we know of his father was, that he had been Prætor, and that he died suddenly one morning, putting on his shoes and stockings, when his son was in his sixteenth year. Cæsar's mother's name was Aurelia, a Lady of merit and virtue, and of a very noble family, though Plebeian. She is praised for having De caus. corr. Elog. n. 28. taken great care of the education of her son: but she succeeded much more in respect to talents than manners.

*Cæsar in
Syria
C. 48.*

We have already spoke of Cæsar on the occasion of the dangers he incurred in the Dictatorship of Sylla : and we left him in a manner a fugitive, and obliged to go and serve in Asia under Thermus, to avoid the wrath of that terrible Dictator. Whilst he was in that country, he blemished his reputation irretrievably. He went twice to the court of Nicomedes King of Bithynia ; and his commerce with a Prince of the most corrupt manners, gave occasion for bad reports, which drew upon him, as long as he lived, the sharpest reproaches, both from his enemies, and even from his soldiers. He was extremely offended at them, and frequently declared and protested in the strongest terms to remove those infamous suspicions, but could not succeed in it. For the rest, he distinguished himself from thenceforth by his valour ; and at the taking of Mitylene, which was the only one of all the cities of Asia, that had not laid down its arms, after the reduction of Mithridates by Sylla, he acquired the honour of a Civic Crown, which was given him by his General.

*He returns
to Rome
after the
death of
Sylla.*

From thence he went to the army of Servilius, who was then making war against the Pirates in Cilicia. But he did not stay long there. As soon as he was informed of Sylla's death, he returned suddenly to Rome, principally from the hope of seeing new troubles arise, and to take advantage of the commotions of Lepidus. His design was to join that faction, in which he was besides much solicited to engage. But the incapacity, which he perceived in the Chief, and the little strength of the party disgusted him ; and he did not think it prudent to embark in so ill-concerted an enterprize.

enterprize. His inclination for that faction, however, manifested itself by the ardour with which he laboured, as we have observed in its place, to obtain an amnesty in favour of those, who engaged in it.

Every thing being quiet in the Commonwealth, Cæsar, who had not yet sufficient power to excite commotions in it, followed the example of young persons desirous of acquiring a name, and accused an illustrious and powerful man. This was Dolabella, Consul in 671. who on his return from his government of Macedonia, had obtained the honour of a triumph. Cæsar at only one and twenty years of age undertook this great affair, and attempted to cause Dolabella to be condemned as guilty of extortion. The cause was good in itself, and he produced a great number of witnesses against the accused. He pleaded it in perfection, and his discourse is cited above an hundred years after his death, as not to be read without admiration. He however lost his labour. Hortensius and Cotta, who were then the leading men at the bar, saved Dolabella by their eloquence, and made Cæsar miscarry in a cause, that he believed infallibly his.

The bad success of this affair gave him affliction: and partly to deaden the great noise it had made, and partly to perfect himself in eloquence, he resolved to absent himself, and to go to Rhodes to hear Apollonius Molo, the famous Rhetorician, whose taste and abilities had also been of use to Cicero. But in his passage he was taken by Pirates, near the isle of Pharmacusa, which lies opposite to the city of Miletus in Asia.

Herodotus Cæsar, when prisoner to wretched Pirates,
by Plutarch behaved to them as if he had been their ma-
ster ster. First, on their asking twenty talents for
his ransom his ransom, he ridiculed them, and told them,
they did not know who their prisoner was : they did not know who their prisoner was :
he promised them fifty. he promised them fifty. He afterwards made
Suet. & Plut. all his retinue set out, whom he sent into the
 neighbouring cities to collect that sum for him,
 and remained thirty eight days amongst those
 wretches, with only his physician and two
 domestics, retaining, during all that time, not
 only a perfect security, but an air of com-
 mand ; so that when he went to repose, if they
 disturbed him with their noise, he sent them
 orders to keep silence. In order to pass away
 the time, he amused himself with composing
 pieces of poetry, or oratorical discourses, which
 he afterwards read to those Pirates ; and if they
 did not admire them, he called them fools,
 and Barbarians. For the rest, he made himself
 familiar with them, and shared in their sports
 and exercises ; but always sustaining his rank
 so well, that he threatened them from time to
 time with crucifixion. The Pirates were much
 pleased with the easy behaviour of their pri-
 soner, and were far from taking his menaces as
 serious. He however realized them ; and when
 the sum he had promised, was brought to
 him, having caused himself to be carried to
 Miletus, with that activity, which is one of
 the most distinguishing parts of his character,
 he immediately assembled, and fitted out all
 the small vessels he found in that port, and
 surprized his Pirates, who were still at anchor
 near the isle of Pharmacusa. He beat them,
 sunk some of their ships, and took others,
 which he carried to Miletus ; and caused the
 Pirates

Pirates to be put in prison. He immediately went to Junius, the Proconsul of Asia, who was in Bithynia, and asked his orders for the punishment of the prisoners. That Proconsul was weak, and avaricious. The glory, that young man had acquired, excited his envy; and he would have been very glad to have seized the booty, which was considerable. In consequence, he answered, that he did not intend to have those prisoners executed; but to sell them. This did not answer Cæsar's purpose. He went back with the same expedition to Miletus; and before the Proconsul's orders could arrive, by his own private authority he caused the Pirates to be crucified, as he had often threatned them: Only, to mitigate the punishment, he ordered their heads to be cut off first.

From thence he went to Rhodes, according to his former design, where he resided some time. But exercises of eloquence did not suffice to employ Cæsar, especially when there was occasion to use arms. Accordingly, as Mithridates, who was then preparing for his third war with the Romans, was beginning to raise the States of Asia, Cæsar went to that Province; and, though a private person, having drawn some troops together, he drove away one of the Commanders of Mithridates, and confirmed the cities of Asia, who had began to waver in the alliance of the Romans.

On his return to Rome, he employed all possible methods for making himself friends, conciliating the multitude, and drawing all eyes upon him; frequent pleadings, manners affable and full of politeness to the lowest of the people, and magnificence in his retinue, *At his return to Rome, he labours to conciliate the favour of the People.*

equipages, and table. His enemies did not form right conjectures of the consequences, his pomp would induce. They believed, that he would soon be ruined by such excessive expences, and that his credit would expire with his patrimony. And indeed he did ruin himself; for before he possessed any Magistracy, he was thirteen hundred talents in debt, that is, near two hundred thousand pounds sterling. But when he had gone so far, his power had taken such very deep root, that it was impossible to reduce it. (a) The weakest beginnings, says Plutarch, if not taken in time, become formidable at length, acquiring, even from the contempt of them, a facility of augmenting with impunity. In consequence, it was found, that Cæsar, instead of having purchased a short-lived splendor at a great expence, had in reality sacrificed nothing in comparison with what he had gained.

He is not
debauchery
the most discerning,
as he was a man of pleasure,
or, more properly speaking, abandoned
to debauchery.

See. c.
25.

Plut.

The ambitious designs he then revolved in his mind, more easily escaped the penetration of the most discerning, as he was a man of pleasure, or, more properly speaking, abandoned to debauchery. All the world knows the saying, that conveys the most horrible idea of his manners, *that he was every woman's man, and every man's woman*. He had given into this course very early, as he had an intrigue with Servilia, Cato's sister, and Brutus's mother, in the life-time of her husband, who was killed when Cæsar was only eighteen years old. People in consequence could not conceive, that he

(a) Οὐδὲν αὖτε ἀρχὴν πρὸς τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἐκ τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἀνθρώπου
μαρτυρίας ἔστιν ἡ μὲν, τὸ μὴ καλοῦσθαι λαβεῖν.
ἡ δὲ τὰς πρὸς τὴν μὲν τὴν
7

could

could unite so serious and so arduous a design as that of changing the form of the Commonwealth with a life, that seemed intirely engrossed by follies and debauch. Cicero himself, whose penetration was so great, and who foresaw events at so great a distance, was at a loss in respect to Cæsar. “ I discovered, said
 “ he, in all his enterprizes, and his whole conduct, a plan continually pursued for raising
 “ himself to the tyranny. But when I saw
 “ him so soft in his dress and manner of living, with effeminate gestures, and his hair
 “ in such nice order, I could not believe that
 “ such a man was capable of forming and
 “ executing the design of subverting the Roman Commonwealth.”

It is not to be doubted, but he had that object in view from his earliest years: For we find no step of his, that does not tend to that end, and does not tend to it in a manner determinate and constantly pursued. He always shews himself intent upon re-animating the faction of the People, reviving the party of Marius, and opposing that of Sylla. I have already related several circumstances of this nature, and the sequel will be conformable to them. The first office which he obtained by the suffrages of the People, was the Tribuneship of the soldiers; and in that charge he supported with all his credit those, who were for restoring to the Tribunes of the People all the rights and authority, of which Sylla had deprived them. He conjectured
for the
purpose the
people
re-animating
Marius's
faction.

He discovered himself still much more at the funeral of Julia his aunt, the widow of Marius the elder. He made a speech in praise of that Lady in the Forum, according to custom,

tom, and ventured to have Marius's images carried in that procession, which had not appeared in public since Sylla's Dictatorship. This boldness occasioned clamours against Cæsar; but the People answered them with applauses, and were never tired with clapping their hands; admiring with transports of joy the courage of him, who in some measure after so many years recalled the honours of Marius from the shades below.

On the occasion of the death of his wife Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna, Cæsar still increased the good-will and affection the People had conceived for him. Hitherto it had been customary to make funeral Orations only upon antient Ladies, and not upon those who died young. Cæsar was the first, who rendered that honour to his wife's memory: and thereby, besides continually renewing the tenderness of the People for Marius's faction, of which Cinna had been one of the principal supports, he caused himself to be considered as a man, who had sentiments, and who was no less estimable for the goodness of his heart, than for a thousand other shining qualities.

His Questorship in Spain.

He made these orations upon his aunt and wife, when Questor; and afterwards set out for Spain, where he was to exercise that office under the Prætor, or Proconsul, Antistius Vetus. By the Roman laws the tie between a Questor and the superior Magistrate was sacred, as we have observed elsewhere. Cæsar was faithful to this maxim; and afterwards extended to the son of Vetus the friendship and gratitude, which he believed he owed the father.

It was in this province that on seeing a statue of Alexander, he sighed, reproaching himself with having done nothing at an age, when the King of Macedonia had subjected the greatest part of the universe. Struck with that thought, he asked his discharge, and quitted Spain before the time, animated with a new desire to signalize himself, and aggrandize his fortune. On arriving in Italy he seized the first occasion that offered for exciting troubles : and as he knew, that the States of Gallia * Transpadana, who only enjoyed the title and privileges of Latines, ardently desired to obtain the freedom of Rome, he made a tour through their country, to exhort them to act : and would have made them rise and take arms, if the Consuls had not kept the troops in Italy, which were to have been sent against Mithridates. Thus this attempt of Cæsar's proved abortive ; but he had not less boldness in effect for trying new enterprizes, as we shall see in resuming his History, when we come to speak of his Ædileship. I am now going to relate the beginnings of the war with the Pirates, in order to proceed afterwards to that, renewed by Mithridates for the third time against the Romans.

Effect which the Statue of Alexander had upon him.
Suet. c. 7.

BEGINNINGS of the War with the Pirates.

THE Pirates were originally of Cilicia. They owed their first rise to the civil discord, which

Origin and progress of the power of the Pirates.

(a) Gallia Cisalpina, which we now call Lombardy, was divided by the Romans into Gallia Cispa-

dana, that is on this side of the Po next Rome, and Transpadana, on the other side of the Po.

Strab. l. XIV. p. 668, 669.

for

for a great length of time prevailed between the house of the Seleucides and the Kingdom of Syria. Favoured by those dreadful troubles, and the weakness of the royal authority, the Cilicians carried off a prodigious number of slaves from that country. This was a certain, and extremely advantagious, trade for them; because the Romans being become rich after the taking of Carthage and Corinth, multiplied their slaves to infinity. The island of Delos was the Mart, where this trade was carried on, and frequently ten thousand slaves brought thither at once, were sold the same day. The Kings of Cyprus and Egypt, who had always been at war with those of Syria, saw with joy an enemy's kingdom ruined by the Pirates, and favoured their increase. The Romans neglected them. The remoteness of places, and other more important and more urgent cares, prevented them from suppressing a power in its beginnings, which at first appeared contemptible, but against which they had afterwards occasion to employ all the forces of their Empire.

Plut. in
Pomp.
Appian.
Mithrid.
Flor. III.
6. Oros.
V. 23.

The war of Mithridates, to whose service the Pirates attached themselves, gave them means of strengthening and augmenting their force. From the siege of Athens by Sylla, their depredations had made navigation difficult and dangerous. Lucullus was harrassed by them, and was more than once reduced to use precautions against their designs, when by Sylla's order he was labouring to assemble a fleet from all the maritime countries in the alliance of the Romans.

However at that time they did not extend themselves very much. They kept in the sea
between

between Crete and Cyrene, and between the Piræus and the promontory of Malæa, now called *Cape Malio*. Though that is no great space, they contented themselves with it, because they took so many and such rich prizes in it, that this sea seemed entirely golden to them, which was the name they gave it. Besides which, they were not yet sufficiently powerful to insult Sicily and Italy; and Mithridates, with whom they acted, in concert being then master of Asia, would not have permitted them to insult the coasts of it. But when that Prince was reduced to abandon his conquests, having no farther concern for Asia, which was then in foreign hands, he gave the Pirates their full scope, and the civil wars not permitting Sylla to check their progress, their power increased prodigiously.

Enriched by the plunder of the coasts of Asia, they were soon in a condition to fit out not only small barks, but great ships and *Triremes*. Their number increased infinitely by the multitude of people whom the war between Mithridates and the Romans had ruined, and who sought the subsistence from the sea, which they could not find on shore. The Pirates then formed armies, and their Commanders became Generals. It was a trifling matter for them to attack navigators. They made descents, surprized cities that were not fortified; and either stormed or besieged those which were in a condition of defence; and by these military exploits, they imagined they enobled their profession. Men, before considerable both for birth and riches, valiant and enterprising, engaged amongst them, and far from thinking it
it

it a disgrace, conceived they might acquire honour from doing so.

At length they formed a kind of Commonwealth, of which Cilicia was the centre, a country difficult to approach, and of which the coasts were covered with rocks and sands. In consequence it was a secure retreat for them, and they took their name from it. They were all called Cicilians, though they were an assemblage of almost all the nations of the east. As they often removed from that centre, they had occasion to settle stations or marts upon the coasts, where they cruized, for unlading their booty: they had even in them naval Arsenals, well supplied with iron, brass, wood, and cordage, in a word with all the munitions necessary for ships. They also built very high towers, from whence they could discover a great extent of sea, and perceive their prey at a vast distance. And lastly they succeeded in bringing great and powerful cities into their interest, as Phaselis, Olympia, and several others, whom the commodiousness of a trade, entirely at the expence and hazard of the Pirates, and of very considerable advantage to them, induced to make an infamous alliance with the enemies of the human race.

Muræna, whom Sylla had left in Asia, made some slight efforts to check the rapid progress of this power; but ineffectually. It was neces-

A.R. 64.

Servilius

Isauricus

made war

against

them with

success but

without

losing

any

sary to send both the land and sea forces from Rome under the command of P. Servilius, who having been Consul the 673d year of Rome, set out on the expiration of his Consulship for this war. The Pirates were so bold as to give a Roman fleet battle; and if the Proconsul gained the victory over them, it was not without having

having lost abundance of men. After having beaten them by sea, he pursued them into their retreats; he took and demolished many of their forts, and even two of the greatest cities in their alliance, Phaselis and Olympia. He also penetrated into the land; forced the city of Isaura with difficulty and danger, and subjected the nations of the Isauri. But the fruit of all these conquests, and of a war made upon the spot during three years, extended to little more than the surname of *Isauricus*, which the victor assumed, and the pomp of a triumph, in which he very much gratified the People by the sight of a great number of Pirates made prisoners, and laden with chains. For the rest, he had gone so little to the root of the evil, that it immediately broke out again with more terror than ever, and obliged the Romans to make new efforts, which had still less success than the former. Servilius probably triumphed in the Consulship of Lucullus and Cotta; and this year the Prætor Marcus Antonius was charged with the war against the Pirates, with a more extensive commission than ever Roman General had exercised, and almost the same as was afterwards given to Pompey for the same purpose.

A R. 678.
Command
of the seas
given to
the Prætor
M. Anto-
nius.

Cic. in
Ver. II.
4. & ibid.
Aicon.

Antonius had the government and command of all the maritime coasts, that acknowledged the Roman Empire: a distinguishing employment, but arduous, and for which he was indebted to the credit of the Consul Cotta, and the faction of Cethegus, of whom we shall speak elsewhere. It had been to be wished, that interest and cabal, in causing the office to be given him, had been capable of adding the merit necessary to filling it. This Prætor was
the

the son of the Orator Marcus Antonius, and the father of the Triumvir; but he had neither the eloquence of his father, nor the military virtues of his son. Sallust describes him as the most negligent of mankind, (*a*) extravagant and profuse to excess, and incapable of any attention, except when urged by necessity.

*He made
raids in an
enterprize
against
the Isle of
Crete.*

Flor. III.
7.

The maritime countries, with the defence of which he was charged, had no other sense of the authority conferred on him, than from the rapines he committed in them; and this Commander in chief, whose power extended over all the seas, confined himself to attacking Crete, which had furnished some troops to the King of Pontus, and a retreat to the Pirates. Besides which he conducted the enterprize with a security and presumption, that brought disgrace upon the Roman name. He believed himself so sure of victory, that, says Florus, he carried more chains than arms in his ships. The Cre- tans, who hitherto, notwithstanding the immense increase of the Roman power, and in the midst of so many Kingdoms and States forced to submit to the yoke, had always retained their liberty, shewed Antonius, that they knew how to defend themselves. They advanced out to sea to meet him, defeated him, and took many of his ships; and to insult the conquered, they tied up their prisoners to the sails and rigging of their vessels, and in that manner returned in triumph into their ports.

*He was so
affected by
grief.*

Antonius, who was no less sudden in conceiving discouragement, than he had been in his rash confidence, made peace with the Cre-

(a) Perdonis pecunie genitus, vacuusque curis nisi instantibus. Sallust. Hist. III.

rans, and thereby compleated his infamy. He was at least sensible of this, and even too much so. Shame and grief seized him, and uniting with a bad habit of body, brought him to his end. He died with the surname of *Creticus*, which was given to him out of derision, as a monument of the bad success of his expedition against Crete.

He was a man of an easy disposition, and bad only through weakness. If he plundered the Allies of the Commonwealth, it was because his prodigality was continually reducing him to use expedients for raising money; and because he did not know how to refuse those about him any thing, and having many rapacious followers, he made himself the instrument and support of their injustice. His easy and profuse disposition. Plutarch has preserved a circumstance, which shews to what an height he was inclined to giving. He was not rich; and his wife Julia, a lady of very great merit of the house of the Cæsars, but not of the same branch with the Dictator, had the greater attention to œconomy, as she knew the prodigality of her Husband. She had even got the ascendant of him, and he was afraid of her. One day a friend of his came to ask money of him, and he had none. He conceived the thought of wanting of being shaved, and having ordered a slave to bring him his bason for that use, which was silver, he washed his face, and dismissing the slave under some pretext, he gave the piece of plate to his friend to carry away with him. The bason being missing in the house, Julia made a great noise, and was for questioning all the slaves. Antonius was obliged to confess the thing to her, and Julia to be patient. Marcus Antonius

nus the Triumvir perfectly resembled his father in this point.

Liv. Epit.
XCVII.
*The Pi-
rates be-
come more
powerful
than ever.*

We are to date the death of our Antonius to the 681 year of Rome. The Pirates after so many endeavours as the Romans had used to reduce them, became in effect more insolent and powerful. Of this we shall treat circumstantially, when we come to speak of the commission given Pompey to make war with them. We are now going to give an account of the exploits of Lucullus against Mithridates.

The End of the Tenth Volume.

